KENYA NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The Synthesis Document

MPANGO WA TAIFA

The National Plan

A Twenty-Year Architecture for the Transformation of Kenya

WORKING DOCUMENT — IN PROGRESS. Architecture and philosophy complete. Sections marked [FORTHCOMING] are pending completion.

This document is the synthesis of the Kenya National Development Programme — twenty-six sector visions, one national argument. It does not summarise those documents. It reads them together, finds the connections between them, and makes the case that they constitute not a collection of government plans but a single coherent act of national will: Kenya deciding, deliberately and at scale, to build the institutions, the infrastructure, the economy, and the social fabric that its people deserve and its position in the world demands.

Kenya National Development Programme | Office of the President | Year One

Preamble — One Programme

The Kenya National Development Programme began as a question: what would it look like if Kenya designed its national development not sector by sector, ministry by

ministry, project by project, but as a single integrated architecture in which every investment enables every other? The answer is these documents — twenty-six sector visions covering water, energy, transport, housing, agriculture, industry, minerals, tourism, education at every level, health, justice, digital infrastructure, environment, culture, sports, heritage, gender equity, labour, defence, foreign affairs, and the fiscal framework that funds them all. Each document is complete in itself. Together they are something larger.

The connections between them are not coincidental. They were designed. The bamboo boundary forest in Mazingira ya Taifa supplies the bamboo components for the Housing Production Centres in Nyumba ya Taifa and Ujenzi na Miundombinu. The rural roads built by the Kenya Roads and Civil Corps in Ujenzi deliver the building materials that the Rural Materials Cooperative in Nyumba distributes to rural households. The National Interest and Aptitude System in Kazi ya Taifa connects the young person completing Form 4 to the KRCC apprenticeship in Ujenzi or the Forest Corps position in Mazingira or the Community Justice Officer pathway in Haki ya Taifa. The carbon economy in Mazingira generates the revenue that helps service the debt in Fedha ya Taifa. The EAC power pool in Nishati ya Taifa deepens the integration that Diplomasia ya Taifa calls for. The dual-title mandate in Jinsia ya Taifa restructures the land tenure instruments in Nyumba ya Taifa and the cooperative membership in Shamba la Taifa simultaneously.

These connections are what make the programme a programme rather than a policy wish list. A wish list says: we want better schools and better hospitals and better roads and more housing. A programme says: we will build the schools first, then the roads that connect them, then the hospitals that the communities around them can access, then the housing that makes those communities permanent, then the cooperatives that give those communities economic life, then the justice infrastructure that makes the rights of those communities enforceable — and we will sequence these investments in the order that each one enables the next.

Mpango wa Taifa is the document that makes the programme's logic visible. It is not a summary. The twenty-six sector documents remain the authoritative reference for each sector's design. This document reads them together, finds the architecture in their connections, and makes the national argument for why Kenya is doing all of this, simultaneously, now.

The Programme in Three Sentences

Kenya at this moment has a young population, extraordinary natural assets, a strategic position at the hub of East Africa, and twenty years of experience building institutions that work imperfectly but genuinely. The national programme uses these assets deliberately — building the physical infrastructure and the institutional infrastructure simultaneously, funding the investment through the revenues the programme itself generates, and distributing the benefits through the corps, the cooperatives, the community centres, and the constitutional rights that reach every citizen rather than only those already

connected to the formal economy.

The test of the programme is not whether it achieves every target in every document. The test is whether, twenty years from now, a young Kenyan from Turkana or Kwale or Siaya has a genuine pathway to a productive, dignified, and connected life that did not exist before — and whether that pathway was built not by luck or by the family they were born into, but by the deliberate institutional choices their country made when it decided to build well.

SECTION ONE

The National Condition — Kenya as It Is

1.1 The Assets

Kenya begins this programme from a position of genuine strength that is frequently underestimated in the national conversation. The geography is remarkable: positioned at the East African hub, with a deep-water port at Mombasa that serves seven landlocked countries, an international air hub at Nairobi Jomo Kenyatta International that connects sub-Saharan Africa, and a land border with six countries whose trade flows through Kenya whether or not Kenya designs it that way. This is structural advantage that no policy can create and no mismanagement can entirely destroy.

The population is the programme's most important asset. Kenya's median age is approximately 20 years. This is a young, trainable, ambitious, not-yet-committed workforce arriving at scale — 800,000 new labour market entrants per year. Every East Asian economy that transformed in the past fifty years did so by channelling exactly this demographic dividend into productive economic life through deliberate institutional investment. Kenya has the demographic window open. The question is whether the institutional investment is made before it closes.

The natural capital is extraordinary: geothermal resources at Olkaria and the Rift Valley corridor among the largest on earth; solar irradiation across the ASAL regions among the highest in the world; water towers — Mau, Aberdares, Mt Kenya, Cherangany — that feed twelve river systems and sustain tens of millions of people; coastline of 536 kilometres with coral reefs, seagrass beds, and mangroves of global biodiversity significance; 63 national parks and reserves anchoring a wildlife tourism product that generates over USD 1.5 billion in annual foreign exchange. These are assets whose market value in the global carbon economy, the renewable energy market, and the tourism market is only partially captured by the current institutional framework.

The institutional base is imperfect but real. Kenya has a functioning democratic system, a constitutional framework with genuine rights protections, a professional

civil service that varies enormously in quality but has significant pockets of excellence, a university system producing engineers and doctors and lawyers and agronomists, a SACCO sector with Ksh 700 billion in assets reaching millions of households, a mobile money infrastructure that is the envy of the world, and a private sector that is entrepreneurial, adaptive, and capable of significant investment when the enabling environment is right.

1.2 The Liabilities

Honest accounting requires naming the constraints. The housing deficit stands at approximately two million units, growing by 200,000 per year. More than 60% of Nairobi's population lives in informal settlements without secure tenure, adequate sanitation, or safe structures. The infrastructure deficit — roads, power, water, digital connectivity — is largest in precisely the areas where population growth is fastest. The formal employment system provides decent work for perhaps 20% of the workforce; the other 80% navigate an informal economy without social protection, pension, or enforceable rights.

The land injustice is acute. Women own approximately 1% of registered land despite comprising slightly over half the population and performing the majority of agricultural labour. The colonial land law has been formally replaced but its administrative inheritance persists: title defaults to the male household head, community land claims are adjudicated slowly and unfairly, and the speculative land banking that drives urban land prices beyond the reach of ordinary households is effectively untaxed. The programme's housing and gender documents address this directly.

The public debt stands at approximately 70% of GDP — elevated but not in crisis. The annual debt service burden crowds out development spending and reduces the fiscal space for the programme's front-loaded investment requirements. Managing this constraint while making the necessary investments is Fedha ya Taifa's central challenge, and the document's honest answer is that it can be done but only with discipline: no commercial borrowing above 6% interest, tenor matched to asset life, development finance prioritised over market borrowing, and the programme's own revenue streams — carbon, power export, HPC commercial sales — used to reduce the net fiscal cost as they mature.

The governance quality is variable and in some institutions dangerously poor. The programme is explicit about this: corruption in the justice system, the land registry, the construction permitting process, and the public procurement system is not a background condition to be managed — it is a tax on development that the programme is designed to eliminate through transparency, digital systems, institutional design that removes the discretion that corruption exploits, and enforcement through the KIACC, the Sports Integrity Commission, the Gender

Equity Tribunal, and the Rent Tribunal that all have genuine jurisdiction and genuine consequences.

The Honest Starting Point

Kenya is not starting from zero. It is not starting from crisis. It is starting from a middle position — enough institutional capacity to build on, enough natural assets to leverage, enough human capital to deploy — but with deep structural inequities that have compounded over sixty years of independence and that the programme addresses not by pretending they do not exist but by designing specifically against them.

The programme's greatest risk is not ambition. It is the failure of nerve that produces a plan that describes transformation without making the institutional choices that transformation requires. Every document in this programme makes those choices explicitly: the Gender Equity Compliance Certificate that makes gender equity a condition of programme delivery, the delivery certification gate in Ujenzi that holds back 20% of contractor payment until all five infrastructure services are connected, the KIACC asset recovery powers with no statute of limitations, the dual-title mandate that changes who appears on a land document by default. These are not aspirational statements. They are institutional mechanisms.

SECTION TWO

The Vision — What Kenya Becomes

2.1 The Kenya of Year Twenty

Kenya in Year Twenty of the programme is a country in which the connection between where you were born and what you can become has been substantially weakened. Not eliminated — no programme eliminates it — but genuinely weakened by the deliberate institutional choices made in the programme's first decade. A child born in Turkana County in Year One of the programme reaches adulthood in Year Twenty with: a school that has been upgraded to national standard, with electricity, with clean water, with sanitation that does not lose girls to hygiene-related absence, and with a teacher whose salary has been paid and who has completed their CPD certification. That child has been assessed by the National Interest and Aptitude System, connected to a training pathway, and given a specific route to productive economic life — KRCC road crew, Agricultural Corps, Forest Corps, formal apprenticeship in the agro-processing zone, or the cooperative financing pathway of the ADBK — depending on what their aptitudes and preferences actually are rather than what their geography and family connections make available.

Kenya in Year Twenty is a country where the carbon economy generates over Ksh 300 billion per year from forests, bamboo boundary networks, soil carbon, blue carbon, and the energy transition avoided emissions — revenues that flow primarily to the communities managing those ecosystems, making the protection of natural assets the rational economic choice for millions of households rather than the sacrifice that conservation programmes have historically asked them to make without compensation. The Mau Forest's cover has recovered from 7% to over 12%. The bamboo boundary forests around every national park create a visible ecological gradient rather than the hard fence-and-ditch that current park management relies on. The coastal forests have canopy walkways and guided trail networks that attract specialist ecotourism.

Kenya in Year Twenty is a country where the power surplus — 13,930 MW installed against 9,000-10,000 MW demand — has made Kenya the EAC's primary power exporter, with clean geothermal and solar electricity flowing to Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Burundi through the interconnectors, generating Ksh 156 billion per year in export revenue and deepening the EAC integration that Diplomasia ya Taifa calls for. Every CRC, every school, every health centre, every water point runs on solar-plus-grid. The industrial tariff at USD 0.05/kWh has made the Dongo Kundu SEZ competitive with Egypt and South Africa as a manufacturing location. Steel production at the integrated steel corporation. Agro-processing at scale in Thika, Kisumu, Eldoret, Mombasa.

Kenya in Year Twenty is a country where the cities work. Nairobi's four primary sewer trunks — bored under the live city without stopping it — have been operational for over a decade. The Nairobi River, the Mathare River, the Ngong River are linear parks with retention pond cascades rather than open sewers. Matatus run on formal licensed routes on the cyclic model — no street parking, published frequencies, physical BRT enforcement on the major arterials. Ward Maintenance Units in every ward in every city have maintained the 72-hour response standard long enough that Nairobi residents expect a broken streetlight to be fixed within three days as a matter of course, not as a political favour. The Dandora dumpsite is closed. The Kisumu lakefront is open to all residents. Fort Jesus has a restored waterfront. Nakuru's sewers protect Lake Nakuru's flamingo habitat. Eldoret avoided the mistakes every other Kenyan city made.

Kenya in Year Twenty is a country where energy contracts are honest. The Kenya Energy Contracts Authority has been operational for nineteen years. Every energy contract signed since Year One has been on sovereign terms: Kenyan governing law, Kenya Energy Tribunal jurisdiction, automatic reversion of generation assets to the Republic at end of contract. No Kenyan energy asset built after Year One can be permanently owned by a foreign entity. No capacity payment can be extracted beyond the capped rate. No dispute has been routed to London or Paris. Every tariff, every change order, every contract has been published within 48 hours of execution. The extraction architecture that cost Kenya billions under previous contracts finds no foothold in any contract signed under this government.

Kenya in Year Twenty is a country where justice is genuinely accessible. Eight thousand Community Justice Halls at every chief's location employ eight thousand Community Justice Officers, trained to KNQF Level 5, adjudicating disputes without the cost and delay of magistrates' court. The National Land Commission's digital registry gives a land title search result in thirty seconds. The Rent Tribunal resolves landlord-tenant disputes in thirty days. The Integrity Division's asset freeze on charge and the Unexplained Wealth Orders make grand corruption structurally harder. The prison system operates on the Scandinavian rehabilitation model with KNQF qualifications available at all five tier levels, reducing the recidivism that has made Kenya's prisons revolving doors rather than second chances.

Domain	What Changes by Year Twenty
Land and Tenure	Women hold 40% of registered land titles (from 1%). Dual-title instruments are standard. Eight thousand Community Justice Halls provide justice without the travel and cost of magistrates' court. The Land Value Tax makes speculative urban land banking expensive.
Power and Energy	13,930 MW installed capacity against 9,000-10,000 MW demand. 95% household electricity access. Industrial tariff USD 0.05/kWh. Net power exporter to EAC — Ksh 156 billion/year revenue. Every public building has rooftop solar as standard construction.
Housing	Nairobi informal settlement proportion reduced from 60% to 20% of urban households. 500,000 social housing units built. 800,000 NHB mortgages active. Rural housing quality standard met by 75% of rural stock. Permanent rural home standard certificates issued to millions.
Economy	Tax-to-GDP from 15-17% to 22-24%. Programme commercial revenues Ksh 550 billion/year (power, carbon, HPC, neutral carrier, NHB). 2 million direct programme jobs. 5-8 million indirect. Debt-to-GDP 42% and declining.
Environment	Forest cover 7% to 15%. Bamboo boundary forests 200,000 hectares. Carbon economy USD 300-480 million/year. 30% of EEZ under marine protection. Mau Forest substantially restored. Coastal forests cultivated for exploration.
Social Cohesion	690 Community Recreation Centres operating. Every sub-county has a CRC. Every Form 2 student visits a heritage site. Professional leagues touring every major city. The Swahili Academy headquartered in Mombasa serving 200 million Swahili speakers. Asabiyyah — genuine.

Domain	What Changes by Year Twenty
Health	The five-level referral hierarchy functions as designed. The Trust Loop is broken — patients use L1–L3 because they work, KNH handles only genuine rare complexity. 290 sub-county hospitals operating to full Level 3 standard with 2 theatres each. KNAC ambulance reaches every Kenyan within the statutory response time. Maternal mortality from 342 to below 50 per 100,000. The 4 million nomadic Kenyans who were structurally excluded from every previous health model are served by Clan Health Wardens and mobile dispensary circuits. Universal health insurance in place — the informal sector as the design case, not the exception. The CHP programme has generated a decade of real epidemiological surveillance data that transforms how Kenya responds to disease before it becomes epidemic.
EAC Integration	Kenya is the EAC's power exporter, rail hub, digital backbone, and Swahili cultural capital. The border crossing that takes 3 days takes 4 hours. The EAC biometric ID works across all member states. The continental connectivity compact is active with 15+ African members.

SECTION THREE

The Architecture — How the Visions Connect

3.1 The Programme Library

The Kenya National Development Programme consists of twenty-six sector vision documents plus this synthesis. Each document is a complete design for its sector. Together they are an integrated architecture. The following is the definitive inventory:

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
Water Vision — Maji ni Uhai		Kenya Water Construction and Maintenance Corps (5 battalions + Maintenance Corps + Hydrological Intelligence Unit), Community Water Trusts (3-tier governance), Community Engineer statutory post, Nine-region programme covering every Kenyan hydrological zone, Lotikipi Channel, Seven Forks Dual Mandate, Tiva Chain

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
	Dams, coastal desalination + chlor-alkali industry, A2 cascade pipeline, nomad wind-wheel network, 2% national revenue statutory appropriation	
Kenya Railway Corps — KRC Act, Financing Architecture, Land Framework, Vision Statement, Construction Programme Atlas	Ombi. Ujuzi. Uhuru.	Kenya Railway Corps established by Act as a permanent institution. Corps Commander confirmed by two-thirds parliamentary majority, 8-year non-renewable term. Five divisions: Engineering, Construction (Corridor Battalions), Maintenance, Manufacturing Wing, Training Command. Rail Autonomy Threshold — statutory 8-year target for 80% network operational, all roles domestic, no foreign operational control. 4,572km total network in three phases: Phase 1 (Years 1–3) Lateral Spine + Southern Spine rehabilitation + Kisumu-Malaba, 1,105km — the political lock: freight trains running before any mid-term election, making the programme politically irreversible; Phase 2 (Years 3–6) LAPSSET corridor NBO-Isiolo-Garissa-Lamu + Tanzania crossings + Mombasa-Lunga-Lunga, 1,346km — Garissa-Lamu contingent on Lamu Port Readiness Condition (port and rail arrive together); Phase 3 (Years 6–8) NW Resource Line Turkana + Garissa-Mandera + Ethiopia (Marsabit-Moyale), 1,727km — the hard corridors no private investor would build, built by the Corps in its sixth year when it has the experience. Isiolo as national pivot — every corridor passes through or connects to Isiolo; the dry port is commissioned in Phase 1 before the corridors it serves are complete so it is operational when freight begins flowing. Metre-gauge conversion is a deliberate training exercise — recruits learn the trade on an established corridor before facing greenfield Turkana terrain. Community Land Framework: Corridor Battalion recruitment (60%

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
		corridor-adjacent) precedes land negotiation; Community Rail Agreement (30%+ Development Premium); Community Rail Stake as permanent equity; Community Rail Trust; Pastoralist Corridor Protocol. Namanga Battalion includes Maasai recruits as community co-owners. $12.6B financing: domestic bonds 16%, international bonds 12%, Chinese EXIM 40% (no operational control clause — non-negotiable), Gulf SWF 20%, AfDB/WB 8%, 1% GDP protected appropriation 5%. Knowledge Transfer Obligation in every contract. 48-hour transparency platform. 15-year minimum imprisonment for corruption. Revenue: $2.7B/year by Year 10. Motto: Ombi. Ujuzi. Uhuru. — Service. Knowledge. Sovereignty.
Infrastructure Delivery — KSBC + KRCC Acts + Ujenzi na Miundombinu	Ujenzi na Miundombinu ya Taifa	KRCC (Kenya Roads Construction Corporation) and KSBC (Kenya Structural Building Corporation) established as state-owned enterprises competing commercially. KRCC: Ksh 50B equity, 200 graders, 500 tipper trucks, 20 TBMs (primary TBM operator for settlement sewerage), Equipment Hire Subsidiary, KRCC Academy. KSBC: Ksh 40B equity, Design Studio + National Building Types Library (BIM), Building Standards Institute, 4-Star green building standard, KSBC Academy, 7 HPCs. NIDCU dependency calendar. Delivery Certificate system (five conditions: road, power, water, digital, BSI certification). Delivery Through Connection doctrine. Joint delivery: KRCC builds road, Water Corps builds sand dams alongside, KSBC builds school and health centre at junction, Settlement Maintenance Corps maintains.
Settlement Maintenance	Kenya National Settlement	Settlement Maintenance Corps established by Act as a permanent

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
Corps — National Settlement Vision + National Urban Settlement	Programme	institution (same standing as KRC, KNAC, KWCMC). Surgical City doctrine: the city Nairobi already is — functional, energetic, creative, resilient — plus the infrastructure it was always supposed to have. Five governing principles: work with what exists; infrastructure first, regulation second; invisible upgrades (TBM boring under live streets), minimal disruption; the block as the unit of change; maintenance built in from day one. Six sectors: Public Transport (matatu cyclic route model — continuous movement, no street parking, formal route licences as bankable assets; BRT with physical kerbed enforcement not regulatory enforcement; metro corridor preservation for 20-30 year underground programme); Waste and Circular Economy (70-80% organic recoverable, 15% true residual, source separation, Jua Kali Recycling Hubs replacing Dandora); Sewerage (four TBM-bored primary sewer trunks under Nairobi's arterials — Nairobi River, Mathare, Ngong-Mukuru, Eastern — with sewage processing centres producing biogas and agricultural biosolid); Streets, Drainage and Rivers (complete street standard, retention pond cascade on all rivers — ponds not underground chambers, managing flood and providing public amenity simultaneously, river banking and linear parks); Facilities (400m/800m/1.5km walking distance standards to public services); Settlement Maintenance Corps. Ward Maintenance Unit: five permanent teams (Street, Utilities, Waste/Cleaning, Green, River) deployed in every ward in every city and town. 72-hour response standard published monthly per ward. Kenya Settlement Code as the national

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
		standard applied to every block in all 47 counties. Mombasa Old Town vacuum sewerage + pedestrianisation (Fort Jesus restored waterfront — 'the economics follow'). Kisumu lakefront 8km linear park and Lake Victoria ferry network ('Kisumu is poisoning the lake that feeds it'). Nakuru sewerage protecting Lake Nakuru flamingo habitat. Eldoret prevention not remediation — the window is still partially open.
Energy Sector Sovereign Protection Act	Sheria ya Ulinzi wa Nishati	Kenya Energy Contracts Authority (KECA) established as sole negotiating body for all energy contracts. Director-General confirmed by two-thirds Parliamentary majority, 6-year non-renewable term, market-rate compensation, five-year cooling-off period before joining energy industry. Seven mandatory sovereign terms non-waivable in every future energy contract: (1) Kenyan governing law — foreign law clauses void; (2) Kenya Energy Tribunal exclusive jurisdiction — no foreign arbitration, no ICSID, no London ICC; (3) automatic reversion of all generation assets to the Republic at end of contract at zero cost — no buyout, no equity compensation; (4) capacity payment cap set by KECA; (5) change orders above 10% require KECA approval and independent review, cumulative cap 20%; (6) currency risk shared 50/50 maximum — no full exchange-rate-risk transfer to the state; (7) tariff transparency — full tariff published within 48 hours of contract execution. Doctrine: substrate removal. We do not renegotiate. We change the ground the contracts land on. Three substrates removed: information asymmetry (KECA technical depth), institutional weakness (protected appropriation, parliamentary-confirmed DG), legal terrain (Energy Tribunal). All

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
		sovereign terms apply prospectively — existing contracts not disturbed. Kenya Energy Tribunal: specialist institution with exclusive jurisdiction, President from High Court, technical members with energy engineering/economics/finance expertise, legal members with 15+ years commercial/energy law experience. 10-year imprisonment for state officers who execute energy contracts without KECA approval. Technology transfer obligation: 70% Kenyan nationals in operational/technical roles within 5 years; all manuals and IP shared with KECA within 6 months of commissioning.
Agriculture — Shamba la Taifa + Kenya National Agriculture Vision	Shamba la Taifa	Agricultural Development Bank of Kenya (Ksh 100B initial cap; cooperative-only lending; mandatory crop insurance co-product; Digital Agricultural Input Account for zero-leakage subsidy delivery; National Crop Insurance Scheme — index insurance, weather-triggered); Kenya Land and Irrigation Corporation (KLIC — SOE on KRCC/KSBC model, commercial contractor for land reclamation and irrigation, KLIC Academy); Kenya Agricultural Extension and Research Service (KAERS — parastatal, trains all extension officers, manages research-to-farm pipeline, one ward extension officer per ward permanently based at Ward Cooperative Facility); Ward Cooperative Facility (1,450 nationally, KSBC-built — cold store, dry store, grading, extension office, market information hub); Three-tier surplus chain (Ward → County Aggregation Facility → Regional Strategic Facility); domestic urea from desalination brine (783,000 tonnes/year, exceeds 300,000t domestic need); Kenya Deep Water Fisheries Academy; Kenya

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
		Rangeland Beef Brand; Kenya Cooperative Export Mark.
Industry and Manufacturing — Viwanda ya Taifa	Viwanda ya Taifa	Kenya Integrated Steel Corporation (KISC — integrated mill at Dongo Kundu SEZ, Phase 1 capacity 2M tonnes/year long products including railway rail, Year 7 first heat, USD 1.8B, 60% state equity, 25% Korean/German strategic partner, 15% NSE; green steel retrofit designed from outset; EAF bridge to Year 7 using expanded Devki/Tononoka capacity at 1.8M tonnes/year); Kenya Food Processing Equipment Corporation (KFPEC — joint venture KISC + UoN + KIDC, domestic canning lines, cold room systems, dairy processing equipment, irrigation equipment from Kenyan steel); Coastal Chemical Complex (industrial symbiosis: brine → chlorine → PVC pipe [50,000km water, 23,500km sewer, 40,000km irrigation, 100,000km housing plumbing/year]; caustic soda → soap and detergent; hydrogen → 783,000 tonnes urea); Five industrial clusters (Coastal/Mombasa, Nairobi-Thika, Rift Valley Agro-Processing, Lake Victoria, Northern Corridor/Isiolo); Tea brand programme; coffee roasting park; leather value chain; pharmaceuticals; Jua Kali formalisation cooperative model.
Minerals and Mining — Madini ya Taifa	Madini ya Taifa	KNAGS (Kenya Nationwide Airborne Geophysical Survey — 3M+ line kilometres, 970 mineral occurrences, all 47 counties, world-class dataset conducted entirely by young Kenyan professionals, Bentley Infrastructure Award 2023); Mrima Hill (top-5 global rare earth deposit, world's largest niobium reserve, Kwale County); no coal at Mui Basin (honest climate and economic assessment — uneconomic and incompatible with clean energy transition); artisanal mining

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
		cooperative model (miners register as cooperative members, collective licence, gold buying desk at certified refinery price, gemstone programme); royalty reform with community compact; National Mining Corporation; beneficiation mandates (no unprocessed ore exports for strategic minerals).
Tourism — Utalii wa Taifa	Utalii wa Taifa	Target: USD 2.5B → USD 5B revenue without doubling visitors. KWS-Conservancy Hybrid (KWS manages core parks, community conservancies hold wildlife-rich land outside parks with Wildlife Lease fee paid directly to community fund). Water architecture as tourism infrastructure — every dam, reservoir, and contour canal designed jointly by Water Corps engineers and tourism planners as dual-purpose infrastructure; the Lotikipi Channel creates a northern frontier tourism corridor. National Camping and Caravan Network: one KSBC-standard campsite per ward, operated by community cooperatives. KRCC road standard as minimum for campsite access. Cultural and heritage tourism. Northern Frontier (Turkana, Chalbi, Jade Sea). Iten sports tourism hub. Film and medical tourism.
KRCC_KSBC Acts — Kenya Roads Construction Corporation + Kenya Structural Building Corporation	Tunajenga Kenya. Tunafunza Kenya. Tunamiliki Kenya.	KRCC and KSBC established as state-owned enterprises under Companies Act (National Treasury sole shareholder) — NOT government departments, not corps in the maintenance sense: commercial companies that compete on merit with no reserved procurement. KRCC: Ksh 50B initial equity; 6 Regional Directors; equipment fleet (200 graders, 500 tipper trucks, 100 excavators, 50 bulldozers, 20 TBMs — primary TBM operator for national sewerage interconnection programme, 20 bridge launching gantries); Equipment Hire Subsidiary (fleet

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
		available to private contractors at published rates); KRCC Academy (200 graduate engineers + 500 apprentices/year in seven trades); 5-year minimum imprisonment for political interference. KSBC: Ksh 40B initial equity; Design Studio (National Building Types Library — BIM-modelled, 5-type school, 10-type health facility, 15-type housing block, partnering UoN/TUK/JKUAT); Building Standards Institute within KSBC; 4-Star green building minimum; 60% local material content within 5 years; 70% construction waste recycled; KSBC Academy (200 graduate professionals + 600 apprentices/year in nine trades including BIM technicians); 5 Housing Production Centres. Shared doctrine: KRCC builds the road, Water Corps builds the sand dams alongside it, KSBC builds the school and health centre at the new junction, Settlement Maintenance Corps deploys to maintain the settlement that grows around it. One investment. Four institutions. One outcome.
Primary Education — Shule ya Taifa	Shule ya Taifa	Comprehensive school standard — every school regardless of location: pool, theatre, science lab, woodwork workshop, music room, agriculture plot, culinary lab (equal standard at 2-stream Turkana school and 4-stream Westlands school — one standard, no tiers). Geographic catchment: unconditional right to enroll, no entrance examination. Every child learns to swim. School feeding programme. KSBC builds all 22,200 new schools and upgrades existing 47,000. Settlement Maintenance Corps manages lifecycle maintenance of all school buildings.
Secondary Education — Elimu ya Kina	Elimu ya Kina	15 available subjects, 10 examined per student, best 6 count. Six specialisation clusters.

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
		Technical/Engineering cluster explicitly connects to KSBC, KRCC, and KLIC academies as much as to university. Civil engineering subject tracks to KRCC/KSBC entry. Agricultural science includes irrigation and water management connecting to KLIC. Geography connects water programme and settlement vision. Form 2 mandatory heritage site visit. ABRSM Grade 4 music theory by Form 2.
Tertiary Education — Chuo Kuu ya Taifa	Chuo Kuu ya Taifa	KNQF free at point of access. Corporate Academy Ladder: KRCC, KSBC, and KLIC have integrated academic programmes from KNQF Level 3 certificate → HND (Level 5) → Degree (Level 6), validated by JKUAT (KRCC/KSBC) and Egerton (KLIC). University practitioners as instructors — the bridge engineer who built bridges teaches bridge engineering; the KLIC soil scientist who reclaimed 10,000 ASAL hectares teaches soil reclamation. University Agricultural Enterprise: faculty gets KLIC land concession to operate live commercial farm; students learn on it; research feeds directly into KAERS Technical Advisories; revenue funds labs and library. Commercial Teaching Enterprises (university analytical laboratories — soil testing at Egerton, materials testing at JKUAT). Three-tier university system.
Schools Infrastructure and Workforce Programme	[Companion to all three Education visions]	~2,200 new primary schools needed nationally + upgrade of 47,000 existing schools, all to KSBC comprehensive school standard. KSBC delivers all construction. Settlement Maintenance Corps explicitly manages lifecycle maintenance. Teacher qualification framework: KG Teaching Assistant (KNQF Level 3), specialist teachers (BEd Technical for woodwork, BEd Arts for music/visual art, specialist routes for each

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
		comprehensive curriculum domain). 20-year teacher production system. County-level planning with most acute deficits mapped.
Kenya Health Vision, KNAC Corps Act, Health Insurance Brief	Afya ya Taifa — Afya kwa Wakenya Wote	Kenya National Ambulance Corps (KNAC) established by Act as a permanent institution — Director-General appointed by President, confirmed by two-thirds National Assembly, 6-year non-renewable term, cannot be removed by Cabinet Secretary. Five-Level Referral Hierarchy rebuilt: L1 Dispensary (1,450+ wards, primary care, CHP anchor); L2 Health Centre (~2,500 nationally, maternity, basic lab, ambulance anchor point); L3 Sub-County Hospital (290 sub-counties — the system anchor, minimum 80–120 beds, 2 C-section-capable theatres, surgery, diagnostics, X-ray, blood bank, at the seam of national and county governance); L4 County Referral (47 counties, specialists, advanced imaging); L5 National Referral (KNH, Moi, + third facility for the north). Hybrid Governance Model: L1–L2 salary=county/standards=national; L3 joint governance; L4 national specialists/county support; L5 fully national. Statutory Deployment Formula removing ministerial discretion — Mandera posting made desirable by guaranteed specialist training slot. Trust Loop broken: patients currently bypass L1–L3 for KNH because lower levels fail; KNH drowns; lower levels stay underfunded. Level Specification makes every level genuinely capable of its defined function. KNAC doctrine: the ambulance enforces the referral pathway — treatment begins at dispatch, not hospital arrival; crew makes triage at scene; bypass problem solved mechanically. Statutory

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
		Response Time Standard (not a target): Urban 20 min, Peri-Urban 45 min, Remote 60 min; county failing 2 consecutive months → Performance Improvement Notice; failing 6+ months → Treasury redirect of county health allocations. Fleet: 2,200 ALS ambulances + 400 all-terrain ALS + 40 night-capable helicopters + 8 fixed-wing + 12 marine units = 2,650 total. 25,000 Corps staff at establishment. Community Health Paramedic: minimum 2 per sedentary ward, 4–6 per nomadic ward, ~4,400 nationally; permanently employed, not volunteer; mother-tongue speaker; motorcycle + kit + connected device; daily household surveillance round, emergency first-on-scene role, real-time epidemiological data role; career pathway to full paramedic. Clan Health Warden: 16,000 nationally, 1 per 250 nomadic persons; clan-selected, satellite-linked device, GPS-tracked register; intermediate standard with prior learning credit toward CHP; the trust is the qualification. 80 mobile dispensary units on fortnightly circuits to seasonal water points, grazing areas, and border markets. Insurance Brief: five failures diagnosed (coverage gap, NHIF corruption vehicle, predatory private insurance, informal sector exclusion, actuarial vacuum); four preconditions the health architecture provides for properly-designed insurance (defined costs, predictable referral routing, 4,400 CHPs generating population health data, 16,000 Clan Wardens defining the nomadic population); sequencing: ambulance network built first; Level 3 upgrade and insurance scheme launch together. Doctrine: Tiba Mapema. Usalama Daima. — Early Treatment. Safety Always. The system that saves your life must not be the system that ruins it.

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
Housing	Nyumba ya Taifa	National Housing Bank, Urban Land Bank, tenure spectrum (OC to CLT), HPCs, Rent Tribunal
Culture, Sports and Heritage	Utamaduni wa Taifa	690 CRCs, 14 Sports Institutes, professional leagues governance, KATS touring scheme, Swahili Academy
Gender Equity	Jinsia ya Taifa + Amendment Schedule	Gender Equity Act, Gender Equity Tribunal, GECC system, 38 ARCs across 10 documents
Labour and Social Protection	Kazi ya Taifa	NIAS system, 14 national corps pathways, NSSF reform, unemployment insurance, National Employment Service
Energy	Nishati ya Taifa	GDC separation, 13,930 MW generation portfolio, HVDC line, solar infrastructure mandate, industrial tariff reform
Defence and Interior	Ulinzi na Usalama ya Taifa	KMEC, NPS digital reform, KIACC asset recovery, Prison rehabilitation model, National Fire Service
Justice	Haki ya Taifa	8,000 CJHs, 5 specialist court divisions, Legal Aid universal mandate, Judiciary Fund 2%, archive network
ICT and Digital	Teknolojia ya Taifa	National Fibre Backbone, Wingu la Taifa, eCitizen, Kitambulisho, Kenya Digital Service (2,785 staff)
Infrastructure and Delivery	[Integrated in Ujenzi]	NIDCU delivery coordination, KSBC/KRCC consolidated pipeline
Environment and Climate	Mazingira ya Taifa	Bamboo Boundary Forest (200,000 ha), KCDS, National Carbon Registry, water tower restoration
Finance and Treasury	Fedha ya Taifa	NDFICO, NHB, ADBK, Urban Land Bank, County Fiscal Monitor, carbon and power export revenue architecture
Foreign Affairs and Trade	Diplomasia ya Taifa	EAC Transport and Connectivity Union, AU Connectivity Compact, Continental Infrastructure Bond, Diaspora Framework

Vision Document	Swahili Title	Core Institutional Creation
African Governance Cycle	AGC (published archive.org)	Sortition assemblies, Governance Fitness Index, AI Auditor architecture, continental sequencing

3.2 The Dependency Map — What Enables What

The programme is not a flat list of sector investments. It is a layered architecture in which some investments are foundational — they must precede others — and some are downstream — they become possible only when the foundational investments are in place. The following map shows the primary enabling relationships:

Foundation Investment	What It Enables
KRCC roads and KSBC infrastructure delivery (Ujenzi)	Every physical programme investment. A school that cannot be reached, a CRC that has no road, a water point that cannot receive supplies — these are investments that do not function. The Delivery Through Connection doctrine requires road, power, water, digital, and building standards certification before any facility is considered delivered.
Kenya Railway Corps — the 4,572km standard-gauge network	The LAPSSET corridor (NBO–Isiolo–Garissa–Lamu) unlocks the northeast — Mandera, Garissa, Lamu — that has waited since independence. The Turkana NW Resource Line gives the oil and wind corridor its freight exit and connects to South Sudan. The Isiolo Inland Depot decouples inland network capacity from port congestion, allowing both to operate at full efficiency. The six international crossings — Uganda (Malaba), Tanzania ×3, South Sudan, Ethiopia — make Kenya's standard-gauge specification the EAC baseline. The Community Land Framework means every corridor community is an equity stakeholder, not a victim of displacement: the political economy of infrastructure changes when the community whose land the track crosses builds it, maintains it, and earns from it. The 1% GDP protected appropriation ensures the network gets built regardless of annual budget politics.
Energy — Nishati ya Taifa (generation and transmission)	The Dongo Kundu steel plant needs 400-600 MW. The seven HPCs need 50-100 MW combined. The irrigation pumps at Galana-Kulalu need 400-800 MW. The CRCs need power. The schools need power. The water treatment plants need power. ArdhiSasa needs a data centre that needs power. Every other programme

Foundation Investment	What It Enables
	investment assumes power that Nishati provides.
Digital Infrastructure — Teknolojia ya Taifa	ArdhiSasa (the land registry) needs fibre. The National Housing Dashboard needs a data centre. The NIAS aptitude system needs connectivity at every CRC. The eCitizen platform needs reliable infrastructure. The National Ambulance Corps dispatch system needs real-time connectivity. Every programme institution that operates digitally depends on the backbone Teknolojia builds.
Water — Maji ni Uhai (Corps, Trusts, nine regional programmes)	The Delivery Certificate requires water connection before any facility is certified as delivered. The irrigation schemes that Shamba la Taifa depends on require the water infrastructure first. The ASAL development depends on the wind-wheel nomad network and the A2 cascade pipeline. The coastal desalination programme runs on geothermal electricity from Nishati — without competitive power at Olkaria rates, the desalination economics do not work. The Seven Forks Dual Mandate provides both water releases for the Tana-Galana plains and up to 800 MW of generation for Nishati. The Community Water Trust governance model and the Community Engineer statutory post are the structural solution to the broken-borehole pattern that has defined every previous Kenyan water programme. The 2% national revenue Corps appropriation mirrors the Judiciary Fund and ICT Fund models — a constitutionally protected operational budget that cannot be cut in the annual budget negotiation.
Tenure — Nyumba ya Taifa and Jinsia ya Taifa	The ADBK agricultural loan requires collateral — which is the land title that Nyumba's tenure framework creates. The NHB mortgage requires an Occupancy Certificate or Leasehold Title — which the housing programme's upgrading sequence creates. The dual-title mandate from Jinsia restructures who holds those titles, which changes who controls agricultural income, which changes the ADBK loan applicant profile, which changes the agricultural productivity outcome.
Education — all three visions	The Railway Corps needs KNQF Level 4 civil technicians. The BSI needs KNQF Level 5 building inspectors. The Community Justice Officers need KNQF Level 5 legal qualifications. The Forest Corps needs KNQF Level 4 ecological technicians. Every corps pathway in Kazi ya Taifa requires the KNQF qualification that the education documents create the pipeline for.

Foundation Investment	What It Enables
Finance — Fedha ya Taifa	Every sector document has a funding table. None of those tables is real until Fedha reconciles them against Kenya's fiscal envelope, identifies the development finance instruments that cover each investment, and sequences the capital deployment to match Kenya's borrowing capacity. Without Fedha, the programme is a wish list. With it, it is a budget.
Health hierarchy and KNAC — the precondition for insurance	The insurance architecture cannot be designed in a vacuum. The five previous failures of Kenyan health insurance (NHIF, SHIF, private predation) all resulted from pricing a risk that could not be defined — no standardised facility cost structure, no predictable referral routing, no population health data. The Health Vision's four preconditions fix this: the Level Specification defines exact costs at every facility level; the KNAC enforces referral routing (making actuarial modelling possible); 4,400 CHPs generate the first genuine national population health surveillance dataset; 16,000 Clan Health Wardens define and locate the previously invisible nomadic population. The sequencing note from the Insurance Brief is explicit: build the ambulance network first; upgrade the Level 3 sub-county hospital network; launch the insurance scheme and the functioning referral hierarchy together. The system that saves your life must not be the system that ruins it.
Energy Sector Sovereign Protection Act — the legal floor for all energy investment	Every geothermal plant, every solar park, every wind farm, every power purchase agreement in Nishati ya Taifa lands on the ground the Energy Sovereign Protection Act creates. The Act removes the three substrates that have enabled energy extraction in Kenya's past: information asymmetry (KECA outguns any private developer at the negotiating table), institutional weakness (parliamentary-confirmed DG, protected budget), and legal terrain (Kenya Energy Tribunal — no dispute routed to London or Paris). Without the Act, the 13,930 MW programme risks reproducing the extraction architecture that made previous energy contracts so costly. With it, every asset built after commencement reverts automatically to the Republic at end of contract. The Act costs almost nothing. The protection is worth billions.
Settlement Maintenance Corps — the maintenance guarantee for every	Every road KRCC builds, every school the Schools Infrastructure programme constructs, every CRC Utamaduni delivers, every sewer the settlement programme bores — all of it degrades without

Foundation Investment	What It Enables
other infrastructure investment	maintenance. The Settlement Maintenance Corps is the institutional guarantee that the infrastructure the programme builds does not become the broken borehole of the next generation. Ward Maintenance Units are permanently deployed before any block is commissioned. The 72-hour response standard is published monthly per ward. County governments must budget ward-level deployment as a mandatory line — the infrastructure comes with its maintenance institution attached. The Surgical City doctrine applies nationally: every city, every town, the Kenya Settlement Code in all 47 counties.
KLIC (Kenya Land and Irrigation Corporation) — the agricultural frontier enabler	KLIC is the institutional instrument that converts the Water Corps' irrigation infrastructure into productive farmland. Without KLIC, the Galana-Kulalu lesson repeats: water arrives, the land is not prepared, the agronomic management is absent. KLIC clears, levels, drains, and prepares the land; installs the irrigation distribution infrastructure; operates demonstration farms that set the production standard; and trains the irrigation technicians through the KLIC Academy and the Corporate Academy Ladder. The University Agricultural Enterprise programme places university agriculture faculties on KLIC-prepared land — students learn on live commercial farms, research feeds directly into KAERS Technical Advisories, and the faculty generates revenue that funds its own laboratories. KLIC also manufactures irrigation equipment domestically through KFPEC, replacing the import dependency on Israeli and Chinese irrigation systems.
Kenya Integrated Steel Corporation (KISC) — the construction input anchor	Every tonne of rebar for KRCC bridges, every structural steel section for KSBC schools, every irrigation canal lining for KLIC, every desalination plant structure — these are currently imported. The KISC integrated mill at Dongo Kundu SEZ changes this permanently. The domestic demand calculation is decisive: KRCC (3.75M tonnes/year), KSBC schools plus housing, KLIC, and Water programme together represent 55M+ tonnes over 20 years — 2.75M+ tonnes/year against a Phase 1 mill capacity of 2M tonnes. The mill serves 73% of domestic programme needs before selling a single export tonne. KISC also produces railway rail for the KRC network, reducing import dependency on track components. The green steel retrofit is designed into the plant from Year 1 — hydrogen injection from Year 15 as the coastal electrolysis programme matures.

Foundation Investment	What It Enables
Water architecture as tourism infrastructure — Maji meets Utalii	Every dam the Water Corps builds, every reservoir the KWCMC creates, every contour canal the Ewaso Ng'iro Battalion installs is simultaneously a water security asset and a tourism asset. The Tourism Vision makes this explicit: Water Corps engineers and tourism planners design together from the first drawing. The Lotikipi Channel — Kenya creating a river where none existed — is the spine of a northern frontier tourism corridor (Turkana, Chalbi, Jade Sea). The Tana-Galana water banking nodes create lakeside recreation and ecotourism around water bodies that did not previously exist. The sand dam networks create the rural water security that makes community camping sites viable. Tourism cannot expand into the northern frontier without the water infrastructure. The water infrastructure's community economic case is strengthened by the tourism revenue it enables.
KAERS (Kenya Agricultural Extension and Research Service) — knowledge to every farm gate	The research-to-farm pipeline: international research → KALRO → KAERS evaluation and translation → KAERS Technical Advisory → county extension officer → ward cooperative farmer. KAERS is the link that has historically been broken. The ward extension officer — permanently based at the Ward Cooperative Facility, employed by the county, certified by KAERS — is the last-mile delivery point. KAERS also manages the pipeline from the University Agricultural Enterprise programme: research conducted on KLIC-prepared university farm schemes feeds directly into KAERS Technical Advisories within months of findings. The 18-month maximum from KALRO variety approval to farm-field deployment is the accountability standard.
Jinsia ya Taifa's 38 ARCs	The dual-title obligation on housing tenure instruments. The dual cooperative membership in agriculture. The women's extension service quota. The factory childcare obligation. The maternal mortality as a governance indicator. The SGBV clinical response standard. These are not optional additions to the sector programmes — they are the mechanism by which 52% of Kenya's population receives the programme's benefits proportionally rather than residually.

SECTION FOUR

The Consolidated Investment — The Fiscal Architecture

4.1 The Total Programme

The following consolidates the capital investment requirements from all twenty-six programme documents. This is the master table — the single place where the full programme cost is stated honestly, the public investment proportion is identified, and the funding sources are mapped for each sector. All figures are Ksh billions unless otherwise stated.

Programme Vision	Total Investment (20yr, all sources)	Public Budget Contribution
Railway — Kenya Railway Corps: 4,572km SGR network, three phases, eight years, Isiolo Inland Depot, six international crossings	$12.6B (Ksh 1.6 trillion) over 8 years — blended rate 3.8% over 20 years	Ksh 79B/year (1% GDP protected annual appropriation as equity contribution). Balance: domestic and international bonds (28%), Chinese EXIM (40% — no operational control), Gulf SWF (20%), AfDB/WB (8%). Revenue model reaches $2.7B/year by Year 10 — debt self-serviced from freight tariffs, port fees, land value capture, fibre leases. Full debt retirement projected Year 20.
Energy — generation, transmission, rural electrification	Ksh 1,000–1,400B	Ksh 550–650B — IPPs finance solar/wind; development finance covers transmission
ICT — backbone, Wingu la Taifa, eCitizen, Kitambulisho	Ksh 350–530B	Ksh 200–330B — neutral carrier commercial revenue recovers 30%
Water — Kenya Water Construction and Maintenance Corps, Community Water Trusts, Lotikipi channel, Seven Forks Dual Mandate, Tiva chain dams, coastal desalination, A2 corridor, nomad wind-wheel network	Ksh 600–850B	Ksh 500–680B — water is a public good; Tana-Galana water banking returns Ksh 4–25B/year; 2% statutory Corps appropriation from Year 1
Housing — NHB	Ksh 400–600B	Ksh 200–220B — NHB self-financing

Programme Vision	Total Investment (20yr, all sources)	Public Budget Contribution
capitalisation, ULB, settlement upgrading		after initial capitalisation
Infrastructure delivery — KSBC, KRCC, HPC network	Ksh 470B	Ksh 320B — commercial revenues recover 32%
Education — 47,000 school upgrades, 20 TVET colleges	Ksh 485–515B	Ksh 485–515B — 100% public good
Agriculture — ADBK, KLIC, KAERS, 1,450 Ward Cooperative Facilities, extension corps, crop insurance	Ksh 400–500B	Ksh 210–260B public (ADBK Ksh 100B initial equity; KLIC Ksh 50B initial equity; KAERS Ksh 5–8B; Ward Facilities Ksh 40–60B built by KSBC; ADBK self-financing after initial capitalisation)
Health — KNAC (2,650 fleet, 25,000 staff), hospital upgrade to L3/L4 standard, CHP programme (4,400), Clan Health Wardens (16,000), nomadic programme (80 mobile units)	Ksh 200–350B capital over 10 years	Ksh 80–120B national capital (KNAC national command, air wing, Training Academy, CHP, Clan Warden nationally); county formations funded by counties as mandatory health budget line; insurance scheme actuarially self-sustaining once Level 3 network and referral routing are operational. No charge at point of use for emergency services — indigent care fund covers uninsured.
Justice — CJHs, legal aid, judiciary IT	Ksh 35–60B	Ksh 35–60B — 100% public; Judiciary Fund covers ongoing
Environment — bamboo, water towers, coastal, KCDS	Ksh 50–70B	Ksh 50–70B upfront — carbon revenues self-fund from Year 7
Culture and Sports — CRCs, auditoriums, sports institutes	Ksh 65–90B	Ksh 65–90B — 100% public
Settlement Maintenance Corps — Ward Maintenance Units nationally, Settlement Academy, TBM sewer trunks, matatu formalisation,	Ksh 400–600B over 15 years	Ksh 280–420B public — county governments fund ward-level deployment as mandatory budget line; sewer tariff revenue and non-revenue water reduction recover 20–30%

Programme Vision	Total Investment (20yr, all sources)	Public Budget Contribution
circular waste, river parks — Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret + all 47 county towns		
Energy Sector Sovereign Protection Act — KECA establishment, Kenya Energy Tribunal, Model Contract	Ksh 8–15B institutional capital	Ksh 8–15B — the Act costs almost nothing but protects tens of billions in energy contract value. Every future energy contract lands on different legal ground.
Industry — KISC integrated mill (USD 1.8B Phase 1), KFPEC, coastal chemical complex, five industrial clusters, SEZ infrastructure	Ksh 200–300B public + USD 1.8B KISC mixed	Ksh 50–80B public (SEZ enabling infrastructure); KISC 60% state equity (~USD 1.1B) + 25% strategic partner + 15% NSE; industrial investment overwhelmingly private once infrastructure exists
Defence and Interior — NYS Corp, NPS reform, prisons, fire	Ksh 90–150B	Ksh 90–150B — 100% public
Gender, Labour, Diplomasia — institutional capital	Ksh 15–25B	Ksh 15–25B — 100% public
TOTAL ALL SECTORS (revised — includes KRC Atlas, Settlement Corps, updated Water and Health)	Ksh 5.6–7.4 trillion	Ksh 3.5–4.2 trillion public
CENTRAL ESTIMATE (revised)	Ksh 6.5 trillion	Ksh 3.85 trillion public over 20 years

Annual average public investment: approximately Ksh 190 billion per year — approximately 27% expansion of Kenya's current development spending (revised upward from the earlier 20% estimate to reflect the KRC Atlas, Settlement Maintenance Corps, corrected KNAC, and Water Corps architecture). The investment is front-loaded in Years 1–8 (KRC construction alone runs at $1.575B/year) and moderates in Years 15–20. Of the Ksh 6.5 trillion total revised investment, the public sector pays approximately Ksh 3.85 trillion (59%). The KRC's

$12.6B is largely self-servicing from freight revenue by Year 6 and does not represent an ongoing public budget burden after Year 8.

4.3 The Revenue Trajectory — What Kenya Earns

The programme does not simply spend. It generates. The following table shows Kenya's national revenue trajectory as the programme's tax mobilisation, formalisation, and commercial revenue streams mature. Tax-to-GDP rises from 15–17% to 22% not through rate increases but through base broadening, compliance improvement, and the formalisation of the economy. The revenue mobilisation programme is designed to feel, from the perspective of a compliant taxpayer, like other people are finally paying their fair share. Because they are.

Revenue Instrument	Year 3	Year 10
Current tax revenue (3%/yr baseline growth)	Ksh 2,200B	Ksh 2,900B
Corporate base broadening — BEPS enforcement, transfer pricing (rate stays at 30%)	Ksh 10B	Ksh 50B
VAT compliance — mandatory digital invoicing for all B2B transactions above Ksh 100K (highest-return reform, least political risk — affects evaders not compliant businesses)	Ksh 15B	Ksh 55B
Land Value Tax — annual 0.5–1% on unimproved land value, replacing stamp duty (tax on land banking, not family land; ArdhiSasa makes assessment feasible)	Ksh 5B	Ksh 38B
Formalisation PAYE growth — programme direct employment (100,000 new formal jobs at avg Ksh 55,000/month)	Ksh 8B	Ksh 40B
Programme-specific levies — NHB Housing Levy 1% payroll (Ksh 15–20B/yr),	Ksh 15B	Ksh 58B

Revenue Instrument	Year 3	Year 10
Digital Services 0.5%, OHS 0.25%, Fire Safety 0.1%, Rural Electrification 0.5%, Legal Aid advocate levy		
EAC power export revenue (Nishati ya Taifa)	—	Ksh 156B
Carbon economy revenues (Mazingira ya Taifa)	—	Ksh 50B
HPC commercial sales + neutral carrier wholesale	Ksh 5B	Ksh 45B
TOTAL NATIONAL REVENUE	Ksh 2,258B	Ksh 3,392B
Revenue as % of GDP	17.5%	22%

4.4 The Debt Strategy — Four Rules

Kenya's public debt stands at approximately 70% of GDP — elevated but not in crisis. The Eurobond exposure is the most acute near-term risk. The programme's debt strategy is governed by four rules that are not guidelines — they are binding constraints on every borrowing decision:

Rule	The Constraint
RULE ONE — No new commercial above 6%	The programme borrows commercially only where the investment generates a financial return above the borrowing rate. If a concessional alternative exists, it is taken. The general rule: every energy, water, and social infrastructure investment is financed through development finance at long tenors and low rates, not through market borrowing.
RULE TWO — Match tenor to asset life	A dam with a 100-year life is not financed with a 5-year Eurobond. High Grand Falls (50-year life): minimum 30-year tenor. Roads (20-year life): minimum 15-year tenor. Schools (40-year life): minimum 25-year tenor. The asset's economic life determines the minimum acceptable loan tenor.
RULE THREE — Currency matching where possible	Infrastructure that generates Ksh revenues (roads, justice, education) is financed in Ksh where the domestic market has capacity. Infrastructure that generates USD revenues (power export, carbon credits) can be financed in USD because the revenue stream provides a natural hedge. The goal: reduce hard-currency debt service as a proportion of

Rule	The Constraint
	the total.
RULE FOUR — Debt service ceiling of 25% of national revenue	Annual debt service is capped at 25% of national revenue. If programme borrowing would push debt service above this ceiling in any year, capital spending in that year is reduced or deferred. The ceiling is the fiscal discipline backstop.

The debt-to-GDP trajectory under these four rules: 70% (Year One) → 72% (Year Three, peak as capital spending accelerates) → 68% (Year Five) → 62% (Year Eight) → 55% (Year Ten) → 48% (Year Fifteen) → 42% (Year Twenty). The programme does not worsen Kenya's debt position. It improves it — because the revenue growth outpaces the borrowing from Year Five onward.

The Contingency Rule

If national revenue underperforms by more than 5% in any year during the Years 3–8 stress period, the investment sequencing rule activates: environment and culture capital is deferred first (longest return horizon, least immediate service delivery impact); then industrial infrastructure (private sector can absorb more cost); housing and education capital is protected last (highest immediate service delivery and employment impact).

The Years 3–8 stress period is managed through three instruments: development finance inflows maximised as the 50-project NDFICO pipeline reaches full rate; the domestic infrastructure bond tapping NSE pension funds and insurers for school and hospital financing; and a Ksh 50 billion Treasury liquidity reserve held for DFI disbursement delay bridging — because DFI disbursement delay has a 60% probability and 12–24 month impact and must be pre-planned for.

4.5 The Master Fiscal Table — Four Phases

Phase	Revenue, Investment, and Net Position
YEARS 1–3: FOUNDATION Additional public investment: Ksh 240–300B total (Ksh 80–100B/year) Debt-to-GDP: 70% → 72%	National revenue total (3 years): Ksh 6,500–6,800B. Development finance inflows: Ksh 400–500B. Programme commercial revenues beginning: Ksh 50–80B. Net fiscal cost of programme: Ksh 60–80B per year additional to baseline. Key milestone: NDFICO established, first DFI negotiations opened, NHB at Ksh 80B, ADBK at Ksh 100B.
YEARS 4–8: PEAK BUILD Additional public investment: Ksh 900–1,100B total (Ksh	National revenue total (5 years): Ksh 14,000–15,500B. Development finance inflows: Ksh 1,400–1,800B (pipeline at full rate). Programme commercial revenues: Ksh 350–600B (HPC, EAC power at early scale, first

Phase	Revenue, Investment, and Net Position
180–220B/year) Debt-to-GDP: 72% → 65%	carbon). Net fiscal cost: Ksh 80–120B per year. Key milestone: EAC power export commencing, all CJHs complete, KNAC full fleet operational.
YEARS 9–15: REVENUE MATURITY Capital investment moderates. Revenues compound. Debt-to-GDP: 65% → 52%	National revenue total (7 years): Ksh 24,000–28,000B. Programme commercial revenues: Ksh 1,500–2,500B (mature — EAC power, carbon, HPC, neutral carrier, NHB). Net fiscal position: POSITIVE from Year Ten — programme revenues exceed programme costs. Key milestone: THE TURNING POINT at Year 10.
YEARS 16–20: PROGRAMME SURPLUS Investment: Ksh 400–600B total (routine lifecycle management) Debt-to-GDP: 52% → 42%	National revenue total (5 years): Ksh 20,000–25,000B. Commercial revenues: Ksh 2,000–3,000B. By Year Twenty: national revenue Ksh 5,500B, commercial revenues Ksh 550B/year (10% of national revenue), debt-to-GDP 42%. The programme-created institutions — NHB, ADBK, KSBC, KRCC, neutral carrier, carbon registry — are permanent revenue-generating features of the Kenyan economy.

4.6 The Employment Engine — Asabiyyah in Numbers

The programme's most important fiscal argument is not the investment figure. It is the employment figure. Every institution in the programme creates a specific number of permanent, formal, PAYE-contributing jobs that did not exist before. The fully revised PAYE return — incorporating the KRC (240,000 peak construction, 15,000–20,000 permanent), the Settlement Maintenance Corps (40,000–60,000 permanent), the Water Corps (7,000–11,000), the corrected KNAC (25,000 staff plus 20,400 community-level), KLIC Academy graduates (3,000–5,000), KAERS national cadre (300–500 national staff plus 1,450 county extension officer posts), and KISC/KFPEC workforce (3,000–6,000 from Year 8) — is approximately Ksh 100–140 billion per year by Year Eight. The economic multiplier means the full employment impact reaches 2–3 million additional employed persons by Year Ten:

Programme Institution	Direct Employment at Full Operation
Kenya Railway Corps (Corridor Battalions, Maintenance Division, Manufacturing Wing, Training Command)	240,000 Corps members at peak construction (per Atlas). Minimum 60% of each Corridor Battalion from corridor-adjacent counties. Training Command at Eldoret, Mombasa, Kisumu, Isiolo. Manufacturing Wing assembles rolling stock domestically. 15,000–20,000 permanent positions at full network operation, plus Community Rail Trust employment in every corridor community.
Settlement Maintenance Corps — Ward	One Ward Maintenance Unit per ward in every Kenyan city and town. Estimated 40,000–60,000

Programme Institution	Direct Employment at Full Operation
Maintenance Units (5 teams per ward: Street, Utilities, Waste/Cleaning, Green, River)	permanent corps members nationally at full deployment. Locally recruited, locally deployed, living in the community they maintain. The 72-hour response standard published monthly per ward is the accountability instrument that turns maintenance from an afterthought into an institution.
Kenya Water Construction and Maintenance Corps (5 battalions + Maintenance Corps + HIU)	5,000–8,000 permanent Corps staff. 2,000–3,000 Community Engineers permanently employed by Community Water Trusts nationwide. The broken borehole ends here.
Community Justice Officers (8,000 CJHs)	8,000 at KNQF Level 5, Grade 7 government employment — the single largest new formal employment creation in the programme by number
Kenya Digital Service and county digital teams	2,785 permanent, market-rate salaries, designed to compete with private sector technology firms
Forest and Conservation Corps	5,000–8,000 field staff deployed across water towers, bamboo boundary forests, and coastal restoration
Kenya National Ambulance Corps — 2,650-vehicle fleet, national command, county formations, air wing, Training Academy	25,000 Corps staff at full establishment (the largest uniformed emergency service in East Africa). Community Health Paramedics: ~4,400 permanently employed at ward level — recruited from the ward they serve, mother-tongue speakers, the state present at household scale. Clan Health Wardens: 16,000 recognised and remunerated by the Corps — the first state presence in nomadic communities that is unconditionally there for them. Motto: Tiba Mapema. Usalama Daima.
Sports Institutes staff (14 institutes) and CRC programme officers (690 CRCs)	8,000–12,000 combined
NPS digital reform — new specialist units	5,000 net new positions in Rail Police, Cybercrime Unit, Environmental Crime, Financial Crimes
Court Registry Clerks and Bailiff Service	3,000–4,000
Agricultural Extension Corps	4,000–6,000
Archive and Records Officers (47 county nodes)	235 permanent plus 705 NYS digitisation workers
Building Standards Institute inspectors	1,200

Programme Institution	Direct Employment at Full Operation
KMEC, NYS Corporation, National Fire Service	7,000–11,000 combined
KSBC and KRCC combined	13,250 permanent (5,904 KSBC + 7,350 KRCC) plus 35,000 direct construction workers — PAYE: Ksh 8–12B/year
KMEC and NYS Corporation combined	7,000–11,000 — PAYE: Ksh 3–5B/year
Community Justice Officers (8,000 CJHs)	8,000 at Grade 7 (Ksh 65,000/month) — PAYE: Ksh 6–7B/year
Kenya Digital Service	2,785 permanent, market-rate — PAYE: Ksh 2–3B/year
Building Standards Institute	1,200 inspectors — PAYE: Ksh 800M/year
Forest and Conservation Corps	5,000–8,000 — PAYE: Ksh 2–4B/year
Kenya National Ambulance Corps	3,000–5,000 — PAYE: Ksh 2–3B/year
Sports Institutes (14) and CRC staff (690 CRCs)	8,000–12,000 combined — PAYE: Ksh 3–5B/year
Archive and Records Officers (47 counties)	235 permanent plus 705 NYS digitisation workers — PAYE: Ksh 200–400M/year
Court Registry Clerks and Bailiff Service	3,000–4,000 — PAYE: Ksh 1.5–2.5B/year
Agricultural Extension Corps	4,000–6,000 — PAYE: Ksh 2–3B/year
NPS reformed departments	5,000 net new positions — PAYE: Ksh 2.5–4B/year
TOTAL DIRECT PROGRAMME WORKFORCE (final revised — all institutions)	200,000–250,000 permanent positions at Year 10 (revised upward from 150,000–200,000 to include KLIC, KAERS, KISC/KFPEC). At peak construction the KRC alone employs 240,000. TOTAL PAYE: Ksh 100–140B/year at Year 8.

This is not a side effect of the programme. It is the point of the programme. It is what Ibn Khaldun called asabiyyah: the social cohesion that forms when a people are bound together by participation in a common project. The counterfactual has costs too: approximately Ksh 150–200 billion per year in lost productivity from youth

unemployment and underemployment. The programme that eliminates this cost pays for a significant proportion of itself.

SECTION FIVE

The Sequencing — The Critical Path

5.1 Why Sequence Matters

A development programme is not a shopping list that can be executed in any order. It is a sequence in which some investments create the conditions that make others possible, some institutions must exist before others can function, and some commitments must be made before the first shovel breaks ground because the communities affected cannot be told about the disruption after it has begun. The national programme's critical path is determined by these enabling dependencies. Get the sequence right and the programme compounds — each investment unlocks the next. Get it wrong and the programme scatters — expensive investments that cannot function because their preconditions were not in place.

The Delivery Through Connection Doctrine
The single most important sequencing principle in the programme: no facility is considered delivered until five conditions are simultaneously met — road access, power connection, water connection, digital connectivity, and Building Standards Institute certification. The Delivery Certificate is issued only when all five are confirmed. Twenty percent of the contractor's payment is held in retention until the Certificate is issued.
This doctrine prevents the most common failure mode of infrastructure programmes: the school without electricity, the health centre without water, the court without internet access. The Delivery Certificate system, managed by the National Infrastructure Delivery Coordination Unit (NIDCU), coordinates all five delivery elements so that they arrive together rather than years apart.
NIDCU maintains a dependency calendar for every major programme investment — the schedule showing which infrastructure element must be in place before the next can be mobilised. The calendar is a live document, updated monthly, published on the national governance dashboard.

5.2 The Four Phases

Phase	Priorities and Milestones
YEARS 1–3: FOUNDATIONS The institutions that govern the programme, the legal framework that enables it, and the first physical investments that unblock everything else.	LEGAL FRAMEWORK: Kenya Railway Corps Act enacted — Corps Commander appointment process begun, Parliamentary confirmation required. Gender Equity Act enacted. Kazi ya Taifa corps establishment Acts. KSBC Act and KRCC Act operative. National Housing Bank Act. Urban Land Bank Act. Kenya Water Construction and Maintenance Corps Act. KSBC and KRCC boards constituted. INSTITUTIONS: NDFICO established. Gender Equity Directorate operational. NIDCU dependency calendar live. National Carbon Registry live. NIAS system live through CRC digital terminals. Community Water Trust framework live. KRC Training Command established at Eldoret, Mombasa, Kisumu, and Isiolo — first recruit cohorts enrolled. INFRASTRUCTURE: Three Housing Production Centres (Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu) operational. First 120 urban CRCs built and open. National Theatre rehabilitation complete. Six Sports Institutes operational. Bamboo boundary pilot. Mau contour bund programme underway. Water Corps deployment begins. KRC Phase 1 construction commences — Lateral Spine (Malaba-Eldoret-Isiolo, 425km) and Southern Spine rehabilitation (Isibania-Kisumu-Nairobi conversion, 556km). Community Rail Agreements signed for Phase 1 corridor communities before first sleeper laid. Isiolo Inland Depot site selected and Community Rail Trust constituted. FINANCE: First DFI programme negotiations opened. NHB mortgage book at Ksh 80 billion. ADBK at Ksh 100 billion loans outstanding. First Article 6 bilateral carbon agreement signed. Water Infrastructure Bonds first issuance. Kenya Railway Infrastructure Bonds first domestic issuance ($2B target). GOVERNANCE: All national programme institution boards compliant with two-thirds gender rule. County Fiscal Monitor quarterly reports live. KIACC forensic accounting unit operational. KRC real-time transparency platform live — all contracts above Ksh 100M published within 48 hours. Hydrological Intelligence Unit monitoring all major river systems in real time.
YEARS 3–8: PEAK BUILD The largest capital expenditure phase. Infrastructure rolled out at maximum pace. Revenue mobilisation maturing.	ENERGY: All 13,930 MW installed capacity under construction or commissioned. HVDC Turkana-Nairobi line complete. Northern Ring transmission live. Every CRC, school, health centre, and water point electrified. Industrial tariff USD 0.07/kWh by Year Five, USD 0.05/kWh by Year Seven. Kenya Energy Contracts Authority fully operational — every new IPP contract on

Phase	Priorities and Milestones
The programme becomes visible on the ground in every county.	sovereign terms; no foreign arbitration, automatic asset reversion at end of contract. SETTLEMENT: Settlement Maintenance Academy at full intake. Ward Maintenance Units deployed in every ward in cities above 100,000 population. TBM boring of primary sewer trunks complete on all four Nairobi catchments. Secondary connections rolling out block by block. All major matatu routes formally licensed, cyclic model operating. BRT lanes installed on Jogoo Road, Ngong Road, Thika Road — physical kerbed enforcement. First Nairobi retention pond cascade operational, linear park open. Dandora progressively closing as Jua Kali Recycling Hub network matures. Mombasa Old Town vacuum sewerage commissioned, Fort Jesus waterfront restored. Kisumu 8km lakefront linear park open. HEALTH: KNAC full fleet operational — 2,200 ALS ambulances + 400 all-terrain + 40 helicopters + 8 fixed-wing + 12 marine units. All 290 sub-county hospitals upgraded to Level 3 standard (2 theatres, surgery, diagnostics, blood bank). Level 3 upgrade and insurance scheme launch together. CHP programme: all 4,400 wards covered with permanently employed Community Health Paramedics by Year Five. Clan Health Warden programme: 16,000 deployed with satellite devices. 80 mobile dispensary units on fortnightly nomadic circuits. Statutory Response Time Standard enforced — monthly county rankings published. JUSTICE: All 8,000 Community Justice Halls complete and staffed. All 47 county courthouses built. Archive node network operational. Legal aid universal coverage in priority areas. HOUSING: Kibera Phase 1 complete. Mathare Phase 1 complete. NHB mortgage book Ksh 300 billion. All seven HPCs at full capacity. Traditional materials lines operational at all HPCs. AGRICULTURE: ADBK at Ksh 250 billion loans outstanding. Galana-Kulalu Phase 1 irrigation infrastructure complete. Cooperative hub network at all 290 sub-county locations. ENVIRONMENT: Carbon registry issuing first verified credits. EAC power export commencing. Bamboo boundary forest 80,000 hectares. EDUCATION: All 47,000 schools upgraded to national standard. All 20 TVET colleges operational. University agricultural enterprise programme in all major universities. GENDER: Dual-title instruments: 500,000 issued. SGBV courts in all counties. Maternal mortality Year Seven milestone: 180 per 100,000.
YEARS 8–15: REVENUE MATURITY	ENERGY: Kenya net power exporter to EAC — Ksh 156 billion/year revenue. All major geothermal tranches

Phase	Priorities and Milestones
The turning point at Year Ten. Programme revenues exceed programme costs. Capital expenditure moderates. The institutions built in the first decade sustain themselves. Export revenues, carbon revenues, commercial institutional revenues compound.	operational. Thermal generation fully phased out. CARBON: USD 150+ million/year from carbon markets. All six carbon source categories generating verified credits. Community carbon revenues flowing to cooperative accounts. HOUSING: Nairobi informal settlement proportion reduced to 40%. 500,000 social housing units cumulative. NHB employer levy self-sustaining — no Treasury subsidy required. ECONOMY: Tax-to-GDP at 22%. Kenya credit rating improved to investment grade solid. Debt-to-GDP declining through 55%. COUNTIES: Ten counties financially independent of equitable share as primary revenue. Carbon economy counties (Laikipia, Samburu, Marsabit, Turkana) approaching financial independence through carbon and tourism revenues. CULTURE: All 14 Town Auditoriums operational. Full touring circuit — large, mid, small-scale and schools — running simultaneously. University Sports League TV rights generating revenue. GENDER: Women's registered land title 15% (from 1%). Maternal mortality 100 per 100,000.
YEARS 15–20: LEGACY The programme's harvest years. The institutions are permanent. The revenues compound. The generation that grew up with CRCs, with competency-based education, with NIAS guidance, with dual-titled land, with accessible justice — this generation enters its productive decades with advantages its parents did not have.	ECONOMY: Programme commercial revenues Ksh 550 billion/year. Carbon economy one of Kenya's top five foreign exchange earners. NHB mortgage book Ksh 800 billion. Debt-to-GDP 42% and declining toward 38%. ENVIRONMENT: Bamboo boundary forests 200,000 hectares. National forest cover 15%. Marine protected areas 30% of EEZ. Blue carbon revenues to fishing communities sustained. EAC: Kenya is the EAC's power exporter, rail hub, digital backbone, and Swahili cultural capital. The AU Connectivity Compact active with 15+ African members. The Continental Infrastructure Bond rated investment grade. SOCIAL: Maternal mortality 50 per 100,000. Women's land title 40%. Gender pay gap below 8%. Nairobi informal settlement proportion 20%. Universal social protection floor achieved. INSTITUTIONS: The programme no longer requires programme management — it has become the normal functioning of Kenyan institutions. The Judiciary Fund at 2% of national revenue, the ICT Fund at 1.5%, the Gender Equity Compliance Certificate system, the NIAS, the National Carbon Registry — these are not temporary programme mechanisms. They are permanent features of the Kenyan state.

SECTION SIX

The Constitutional and Legal Architecture

6.1 The Acts Required

The programme requires a specific sequence of legislation. Some Acts are preconditions for the programme to operate legally. Others must be in place before specific institutions can be established. The following is the complete legislative programme:

Act / Legal Instrument	Programme Home	Year Required
Energy Sector Sovereign Protection Act (KECA as sole negotiating body; Kenya Energy Tribunal exclusive jurisdiction; seven mandatory sovereign terms including automatic asset reversion, no foreign arbitration, Kenyan governing law; prospective operation — existing contracts not disturbed; 10-year imprisonment for unauthorised contract execution)	Nishati ya Taifa + new standalone Act	Year 1 — enact on date of assent, immediate effect
Settlement Maintenance Corps Act (Ward Maintenance Units, 72-hour standard, Settlement Maintenance Academy, Kenya Settlement Code statutory force, county mandatory budget line for deployment)	Kenya National Settlement Vision	Year 1
Kenya Railway Corps Act (Corps as permanent institution, Rail Autonomy Threshold, Corps Commander	KRC Vision Statement, Corps Act, Land Framework, Financing Architecture	Year 1 — priority legislation

Act / Legal Instrument	Programme Home	Year Required
Parliamentary confirmation, knowledge transfer obligations, 15-year corruption minimum, 1% GDP protected appropriation, Community Rail Agreement and Trust framework, no-operational-control financing condition)		
Kenya Water Construction and Maintenance Corps Act	Water Vision — Maji ni Uhai	Year 1
Community Water Trust Framework Act (Trust formation, Community Engineer statutory post, no commissioning without Trust)	Water Vision — Maji ni Uhai	Year 1
Kenya Water Authority Act (national standard — 1km access, 3% income cost ceiling, 48-hour dry-season limit)	Water Vision — Maji ni Uhai	Year 1
Seven Forks Dual Mandate Protocol (statutory instrument amending KENGEN/KPC operating rules)	Water Vision — Maji ni Uhai	Year 2
Tana River Flood Pulse Protocol (statutory minimum downstream releases from all Tana dams)	Water Vision — Maji ni Uhai	Year 2
Naivasha Abstraction Cap Order	Water Vision — Maji ni Uhai	Year 2
Kenya Roads and Civil Corps Act (KRCC Act)	Ujenzi na Miundombinu	Year 1
Kenya State Building Corporation Act (KSBC Act)	Ujenzi na Miundombinu	Year 1

Act / Legal Instrument	Programme Home	Year Required
National Housing Bank Act	Nyumba ya Taifa	Year 1
Urban Land Bank Act	Nyumba ya Taifa	Year 1
Gender Equity Act (7 Parts)	Jinsia ya Taifa	Year 1 (enact Year 2)
Forest and Conservation Corps Establishment Act	Mazingira / Kazi	Year 1
Kenya National Ambulance Corps Act (KNAC Act — permanent institution, Director-General 2/3 Parliamentary confirmation 6-year non-renewable term, statutory Response Time Standard urban 20/peri-urban 45/remote 60 min, fleet minimum 2,650 vehicles incl. 40 helicopters + 8 fixed-wing + 12 marine, CHP programme minimum 2 per sedentary ward + 4 per nomadic ward, Clan Health Warden 1 per 250 nomadic persons, no charge at point of use, protected appropriation for national command + air wing + Training Academy + CHP + Clan Warden)	Health Vision + KNAC Corps Act	Year 1 — priority legislation
Performers and Creators Rights Act	Utamaduni wa Taifa	Year 1
Sports Regulatory Authority Act	Utamaduni wa Taifa	Year 1
Creative Economy Regulatory Authority Act	Utamaduni wa Taifa	Year 1
Live Performance and Events Act	Utamaduni wa Taifa	Year 1
Talent Representatives	Utamaduni wa Taifa	Year 1

Act / Legal Instrument	Programme Home	Year Required
Act		
Professional Leagues Governance Act	Utamaduni wa Taifa	Year 2
Intangible Heritage Protection Act	Utamaduni wa Taifa	Year 2
Kenya Digital Infrastructure Company Act (neutral carrier)	Teknolojia ya Taifa	Year 1
National Carbon Registry Act	Mazingira ya Taifa	Year 1
Rent Regulation Act (replacing Rent Restriction Act)	Nyumba ya Taifa	Year 2
ADBK Recapitalisation Act	Shamba la Taifa / Fedha	Year 1
National Employment Service Act	Kazi ya Taifa	Year 2
National Unemployment Insurance Act	Kazi ya Taifa	Year 2
Kenya Building Code Amendment (Alternative Compliance Pathway populated)	Nyumba ya Taifa	Year 2
Water-Energy Nexus Planning Unit — statutory basis	Maji / Nishati	Year 2
Community Water Point Governance Act	Maji ya Taifa	Year 3

6.2 Constitutional Dimensions

The programme operates primarily within the existing constitutional framework. Several elements, however, have constitutional dimensions that require either amendment or a constitutional reading that clarifies the programme's authority:

Constitutional Element	Programme Position
The KNAC Director-	The KNAC Act specifies a Director-General confirmed by

Constitutional Element	Programme Position
General and the Parliamentary-confirmation governance pattern	two-thirds of all National Assembly members, serving a single non-renewable 6-year term, with no Cabinet Secretary direction on operational, dispatch, or clinical decisions. This mirrors the KRC Corps Commander architecture. Three permanent institutions — KRC (rail), Kenya Water Corps, KNAC (ambulance) — are all governed by Parliamentary-confirmed, operationally independent Directors-General or Commanders who cannot be reorganised by ministerial preference. This institutional pattern — permanent corps, Parliamentary governance, protected appropriation — is the structural form that the programme uses for its most critical network infrastructure. It should be considered as a named constitutional doctrine: Permanent Institution Status, available to any future institution that Parliament designates as essential national infrastructure.
The Energy Sector Sovereign Protection Act — prospective operation, asset reversion, no foreign arbitration	The Act's prospective design is its most important constitutional feature: it changes the ground for all future contracts without touching existing ones, which is the only legally clean approach. The automatic reversion of generation assets to the Republic at zero cost at end of contract is the provision that most directly addresses the extraction architecture of previous energy agreements. No buyout clause, no equity compensation, no option to purchase — the asset reverts automatically. This has been challenged in comparable jurisdictions; the Kenya Energy Tribunal's exclusive jurisdiction is the structural answer to that challenge, because no foreign arbitral award against Kenya on an energy contract covered by this Act can be enforced in Kenya. The Act cannot be constitutional-amendment-proofed like the protected appropriations, but the combination of institutional design (KECA technical capacity removes the information asymmetry), legal terrain (Tribunal removes the forum advantage), and transparency (48-hour publication removes the opacity) means the extraction architecture has no substrate to attach to.
The KRC 1% GDP protected appropriation and the no-operational-control financing condition	The KRC Act's 1% GDP annual appropriation is a protected appropriation — reducible only by constitutional amendment approved by referendum. This mirrors the Water Corps 2% model and the Judiciary Fund model. The no-operational-control financing condition is the structural lesson from Kenya's SGR experience: the network must be built without pledging operational sovereignty. The KRC Act makes this non-negotiable by law — no Corps Commander may execute a

Constitutional Element	Programme Position
	financing agreement containing an operational control provision, regardless of political pressure. This is the most important sovereign protection clause in the entire programme.
The Water Corps 2% national revenue statutory appropriation	The Water Corps Act sets a minimum annual Corps budget equivalent to 2% of national revenue — mirroring the Judiciary Fund (2%) and the ICT Fund (1.5%) models. This protects the Corps's maintenance budget from the annual discretionary cutting that has broken every previous Kenyan water programme. Constitutional entrenchment recommended as Year Three amendment alongside the Judiciary Fund amendment.
The Judiciary Fund — 2% of national revenue (Haki ya Taifa)	The programme proposes a constitutional amendment to entrench the 2% Judiciary Fund floor, removing it from annual budget discretion. This follows the model of the county equitable share guarantee. The amendment requires a two-thirds parliamentary majority and a county assembly ratification process. The programme's Year Three legislative agenda includes this amendment.
The ICT Fund — 1.5% of national revenue (Teknolojia ya Taifa)	Similarly proposed for constitutional entrenchment. The digital infrastructure is as foundational to Kenya's development as roads and water — it deserves the same constitutional protection from discretionary cutting.
The two-thirds gender rule enforcement (Jinsia ya Taifa)	The Gender Equity Act's provision that appointments resulting in non-compliance with the two-thirds rule are void is designed to make the existing constitutional provision enforceable without a further amendment. The constitutional obligation exists. The programme creates the enforcement mechanism.
County equitable share formula reform (Fedha ya Taifa)	The equitable share formula revision proposed in the programme — adding a 15% performance grant component — requires a change to the Commission on Revenue Allocation's formula recommendation, which does not require a constitutional amendment but does require CRA approval and Senate concurrence. Year Two process.
The Unexplained Wealth Order (Haki ya Taifa)	UWOs as proposed in the Justice document require a targeted amendment to the Prevention of Organised Crimes Act or a new Asset Recovery Act. They are constitutionally permissible under Article 40(6) of the Constitution. A standalone Asset Recovery Act is the recommended instrument.
EAC deepening —	The programme anticipates EAC deepening toward a

Constitutional Element	Programme Position
transfer of sovereignty questions (Diplomasia ya Taifa)	federal structure. This eventually requires constitutional provisions for the transfer of functions to supranational bodies. The programme takes no position on the timeline for this transition — it is a matter for the people of Kenya through the referendum process. What it does do is build the institutional and economic foundations that make the transition rational when the time comes.

6.3 The Programme Governance Architecture

Who runs this? Twenty-six sector documents create dozens of new institutions, mandate cross-programme compliance mechanisms, and require coordination between multiple directorates. The programme governance architecture is the set of institutions that manage this complexity:

Governance Body	Function
Office of the President — National Development Programme Coordination Unit	The convening authority. The NDPCU chairs the cross-programme delivery board, resolves inter-directorate disputes on delivery sequencing, publishes the annual National Development Report, and is the primary political accountability point for the programme as a whole. It is not a new ministry — it is a strengthened function within the existing Office of the President.
National Infrastructure Delivery Coordination Unit (NIDCU)	From Ujenzi na Miundombinu. Manages the delivery calendar, the mobilisation gate, and the Delivery Certificate system. The single coordination point for all physical infrastructure delivery across KSBC, KRCC, KMEC, and NYSC Corporation.
National Development Finance Coordination Office (NDFICO)	From Fedha ya Taifa. Manages all DFI relationships as a single portfolio. Maintains the 50-project investment-ready pipeline. Administers the unified financial management system that satisfies all DFI audit requirements simultaneously.
Gender Equity Directorate	From Jinsia ya Taifa. Issues Gender Equity Compliance Certificates. Monitors the 38 Amendment Reference Codes across ten programme documents. Administers the Annual Gender Equity Report and the county Gender Equity Improvement Notice system.
County Fiscal Monitor	From Fedha ya Taifa. Independent function within the Controller and Auditor General's office. Publishes quarterly fiscal performance reports for all 47 counties.

Governance Body	Function
	Feeds the county performance grant calculation.
The National Governance Dashboard	From multiple documents. A single public digital interface — live on eCitizen — showing real-time or near-real-time progress on every programme metric: housing units delivered, OCs issued, carbon credits verified, maternal mortality rate, gender pay gap, CRCs operational, power capacity commissioned, CJHs staffed. The programme's primary public accountability instrument.

SECTION SEVEN

Asabiyyah — The Social Cohesion Argument

7.1 What the Programme Is Really Doing

The fiscal case for this programme is in Fedha ya Taifa. The infrastructure case is in Ujenzi na Miundombinu. The ecological case is in Mazingira ya Taifa. But the deepest case for the programme is social, and it requires a concept from the fourteenth-century Arab historian Ibn Khaldun to name it properly.

Asabiyyah — pronounced roughly as-a-BEE-ya — is the quality of social cohesion, collective solidarity, and shared purpose that makes a group function as a community rather than as a collection of competing individuals. Ibn Khaldun observed that civilisations rise when they have asabiyyah and decline when they lose it. The form of asabiyyah varies — it can be tribal solidarity, religious community, civic identity, or the shared commitment to a national project — but the function is constant: it is what binds people together in mutual support, shared obligation, and collective investment in the future.

Kenya at this moment lacks asabiyyah in the form that national development requires. This is not a cultural failure. It is a structural one. When 800,000 young people per year enter a labour market that has no formal place for them, the message they receive — not in words but in experience — is that the national project does not include them. When a woman in Kibera knows that she has lived on the same plot for twenty-five years but has no legal right to it because the title defaulted to a husband who has left, the message she receives is that the legal system does not see her. When a community in Turkana watches its natural resources extracted without meaningful benefit, the message is that development happens to them, not for them or with them.

The programme's response to this structural failure is not rhetorical. It is institutional. The National Interest and Aptitude System is not a careers service — it is the mechanism by which a 19-year-old in Siaya discovers that there is a specific pathway from her aptitudes to a specific career in the Forest Corps or the Railway Corps or the cooperative management of an ADBK-financed processing facility, and that the pathway is real, funded, and accessible. The Community Justice Hall at every chief's location is not a government building — it is the mechanism by which justice becomes something that happens in a person's community rather than in a distant court they cannot afford to reach. The dual-title mandate is not a legal technicality — it is the mechanism by which a woman's presence in her own home becomes legally acknowledged for the first time.

The Asabiyyah Dividend

The asabiyyah dividend cannot be quantified. But the cost of its absence can be estimated. The Kenya National Bureau of Statistics estimates that youth unemployment and underemployment cost the economy approximately Ksh 150–200 billion per year in lost productivity. The World Bank estimates that SGBV costs Kenya approximately 2–4% of GDP annually in lost productivity, health utilisation, and reduced labour force participation. The World Bank further estimates that women's agricultural productivity being equal to men's would increase Kenya's agricultural GDP by 20–30%. These are not sentimental calculations. They are the fiscal cost of structural exclusion.

The programme's employment creation — 100,000–130,000 permanent formal jobs — does more than generate Ksh 33–48 billion per year in PAYE revenue. It generates asabiyyah. When a young man from Eldoret is a KRCC road engineer, he does not feel that the national project has excluded him. He is the national project. When a woman from Kakamega is a Community Justice Officer hearing disputes at the local CJH, she is not waiting for justice — she is dispensing it. These are not economic outcomes. They are social facts that make Kenya's political stability, its democratic functioning, and its capacity for collective action more robust.

7.2 The Programme's Social Philosophy

The national programme makes a specific social philosophy visible through its institutional choices. That philosophy has four elements:

Philosophical Element	How It Appears in the Programme
Universality — the programme reaches every Kenyan, not only those already connected to the	The 8,000 CJHs reach to every chief's location. The ASAL water points and wind-wheel nomad cisterns reach the most remote pastoral communities. The rural home standard improvement programme reaches the homestead that no government programme has reached

Philosophical Element	How It Appears in the Programme
formal economy	before. The KRC builds through Mandera and Lokichoggio — communities that have waited since independence for a line that never came. The NIAS reaches Form 4 completers regardless of county. The bamboo boundary forest programme employs communities adjacent to every national park. Universality is not aspiration — it is the design standard against which every sector document is measured.
Reciprocity — the programme asks communities to participate as well as to receive	The community mapping officer who registers households in Mathare is drawn from Mathare. The CJO who hears disputes in Kapenguria is from Kapenguria. The Forest Corps member who plants the bamboo boundary in the Aberdares lives near the Aberdares. The KRC Corridor Battalion is recruited at 60% from the corridor-adjacent counties — the community whose land the network crosses builds it and maintains it. The Community Rail Trust means the community holds a permanent equity stake in the station built through their territory: they are not watching the train go past, they earn from it. Reciprocity creates stake. A programme that you are part of building is a programme you have a reason to protect.
Transparency — the programme makes its decisions, its spending, and its outcomes visible to the public	The National Governance Dashboard. The County Fiscal Monitor quarterly reports on eCitizen. The BSI inspection records public within seven days on ArdhiSasa. The KIACC asset recovery proceedings public. The Sports Integrity Commission determinations published. The Gender Equity Tribunal findings published. The KRC real-time transparency platform: every contract above Ksh 100M published within 48 hours of execution, every payment above Ksh 10M, every variation order above Ksh 50M. Transparency is not a rhetorical commitment — it is the architecture of accountability that makes the programme's governance claims credible.
Dignity — the programme treats its beneficiaries as rights-holders, not recipients of charity	No forced evictions. No bulldozers. The sitting tenant protected before the landlord's title is formalised. The pastoralist's dry-season settlement preference consulted rather than overridden. The woman's land right protected by the same mechanism that protects the man's. The CJO who cannot access the internet but has been given a Starlink terminal and a generator. And the health doctrine's most precise expression of dignity: the ambulance proves the state will come when you call. The Community Health Paramedic proves the state was already thinking about you before you had to call. For the

Philosophical Element	How It Appears in the Programme
	nomadic Kenyan — Turkana, Samburu, Borana, Maasai, Somali — the Clan Health Warden is the first state presence in their daily life that is unconditionally there for them, not extracting but checking on them, knowing their name, following up. For generations the state reached nomadic communities through the chief, the police, and the tax collector. The Health Warden is different. Communities that feel seen by the state participate in it. They register births, vaccinate children, report outbreaks. The health presence is the entry point for full citizenship. Dignity is the social contract's minimum expression.

SECTION EIGHT

The International Positioning — Kenya and the World

8.1 The Non-Client State Posture

Kenya's diplomatic and development finance relationships have historically followed a client-state pattern: Kenya requests, donors decide, Kenya complies with conditions, donors disburse. This pattern is not unique to Kenya — it characterises most African development financing — and it is not entirely without merit: conditionality has sometimes forced institutional improvements that domestic political economy would not have produced. But the client-state pattern has costs that the programme explicitly rejects.

The costs are epistemic and structural. Epistemic: when a donor's country team in Nairobi decides which projects Kenya should build, they bring their country's institutional templates to contexts where those templates do not fit. A World Bank water project designed by Washington-based engineers for a Nairobi context may produce technically sound infrastructure that the community does not use because it was designed without the community's participation in defining what the problem was. Structural: when a country's development agenda is set through donor negotiation, the country's institutions become oriented toward satisfying donor requirements rather than delivering domestic outcomes. The country builds the capacity to write donor reports, not the capacity to run a water system.

The programme proposes a different posture — not adversarial but confident. Kenya comes to development finance negotiations with a programme, not a project list. The programme has its own technical analysis, its own institutional design, its own

sequencing logic. Development finance institutions are welcome to co-finance specific investments within the programme on terms that serve both parties — the long-tenor, low-rate concessional finance that multilateral institutions offer is genuinely valuable and the programme uses it extensively. But the programme's architecture is not for sale. Kenya is not asking donors to design its education system or its justice infrastructure or its gender equity framework. It is offering to demonstrate, at scale, that those systems can be designed by Kenyans for Kenya.

8.2 The EAC — The Practical Union

The East African Community is Kenya's primary regional institution and the programme's primary regional ambition. The EAC deepening that Diplomasia ya Taifa calls for is not a political declaration — it is a set of specific investments in the connectivity that makes union real before the political form is negotiated:

EAC Integration Element	Programme Investment
Rail — the KRC 4,572km SGR network and the EAC standard-gauge specification	The LAPSSET corridor (NBO–Isiolo–Garissa–Lamu) connects the northeast. The Turkana NW Resource Line opens the oil and wind corridor to the Indian Ocean. The Southern Spine connects SW and SE Kenya to both Mombasa and Lamu ports. Six international crossings serve Uganda, Tanzania ×3, South Sudan, and Ethiopia. The Kenya Railway Corps builds to standard gauge throughout — this is the 100-year decision about East African economic geography. When Tanzania completes its conversion, when Uganda follows, when South Sudan makes its first choice, the standard is already set. The Corps that builds the network also trains the engineers, publishes the maintenance manuals, and certifies the workforce standards that all subsequent EAC railway institutions adopt. The Corps makes its training facilities and technical protocols available to partner state rail institutions — this is regional integration through technical standardisation, not through summit communiqués. The East African Railway Authority begins not with a treaty but with a gauge decision made in Nairobi in 2026.
Power — Kenya as the EAC's exporter	The Kenya-Uganda, Kenya-Tanzania, and Kenya-Rwanda interconnectors. The East African Power Pool operating framework. Kenya generating more clean power than it needs and exporting the surplus — this is integration by mutual dependence.
Digital — the EAC roaming agreement	A Kenyan using their phone in Rwanda pays domestic rates. Cross-border M-Pesa and EAC-equivalent mobile

EAC Integration Element	Programme Investment
and mobile money interoperability	money transfers as cheap as domestic transfers. The EAC digital identity working across all member states.
Language — the East African Swahili Academy in Mombasa	Kiswahili adopted as the EAC's primary working language alongside English. The Academy sets orthographic standards, adjudicates neologisms, produces the definitive dictionary. Two hundred million Swahili speakers served by an institution headquartered in Mombasa.
Tourism — the East African Tourist Area	A single EAC tourist visa. A coordinated marketing campaign under the brand 'East Africa'. Cross-border tourism circuits designed as products rather than national itineraries.
People — the EAC biometric ID and free movement	An EAC citizen crossing the Kenya-Uganda border with a single biometric card, no visa required, no work permit for stays up to six months, no customs declaration for personal goods. The border becomes what a county boundary is — a line on a map, not an obstacle.

8.3 The African Ambition — Kenya as Demonstration

The deepest aspiration of the national programme is not a successful Kenya. It is a successful Africa. The two sentences that appear at the end of Utamaduni wa Taifa's national identity section: Kenya is not the destination. Kenya is the demonstration.

The logic: if Kenya builds its institutions seriously — the justice system, the gender equity framework, the education pipeline, the energy transition, the carbon economy — and if it shares openly what it learns, then the most valuable thing Kenya contributes to the African development project is not its GDP or its infrastructure but its institutional knowledge. How did you build a Community Justice Hall at every chief's location in eight years? How did you reduce maternal mortality from 342 to 100 in seven years? How did you transition from 22% transmission loss to 10% in a decade? How did you make the informal economy 50% formal? These are questions that other African governments will ask, and the answers are in the programme documents.

The AU Connectivity Compact proposed in Diplomasia ya Taifa is the continental expression of this ambition. Not a new pan-African institution — Africa has enough institutions — but a coalition of willing states that implements the connectivity agenda without waiting for all fifty-five AU members to agree. The five pillars: African Open Skies, the African Road Corridor completion programme, the Pan-African Digital Infrastructure, the Continental Development Finance Pool funded by the Continental Infrastructure Bond, and the People's Connectivity Programme — a

continental tourist visa, cross-border student exchange at domestic rates, professional qualification mutual recognition. These are functional integrations that create the social reality of continental community before the political form exists. The political form, when it comes, will be the expression of an already-existing lived experience rather than an aspiration imposed from above.

Kenya Is Not the Destination — Kenya Is the Demonstration
We build strong schools so that Tanzania can ask: how did you do that? We build honest sports institutions so that Nigeria can ask: how did you stop the corruption? We build a Swahili Academy so that the DRC can ask: can we join? We build a national culture that is proud and grounded and open so that our young people want to stay and build more.
And then, when the evidence is accumulated and the trust is established, when the EAC has deepened and the institutional frameworks are real, we take the next step toward the voluntary political union that this continent's founders imagined but could not yet build. This is not idealism. It is a programme. And it begins here.

SECTION NINE

The Twenty-Year Arc

9.1 Decade One — Building the Architecture

The first decade of the programme is the most demanding and the most critical. The institutions are established, the legal framework enacted, the physical infrastructure built, the investment mobilised, and the first generation of Kenyans processed through the programme's educational, employment, and social systems. By the end of Year Ten, the programme's own revenues exceed its incremental costs for the first time. The turning point arrives.

Year	National Revenue	Headline Milestone
Year 1	Ksh 2,100B baseline	KRC Act, KSBC Act, KRCC Act, NHB Act, Water Corps Act, Settlement Maintenance Corps Act, Energy Sector Sovereign Protection Act — all in Parliament. Energy Sovereign Protection Act enacted on date of assent (prospective, immediate effect). NIAS live. First 120 urban CRCs open. Three HPCs operational. National Carbon Registry live. KRC Training Command opens Eldoret + Mombasa. Phase 1 construction commences. Settlement Maintenance Academy

Year	National Revenue	Headline Milestone
		first intake. Standards assessment underway — every block in every major city scored. KECA established and recruiting technical staff at market rates.
Year 2	Ksh 2,170B	NHB mortgage book Ksh 80B. ADBK at Ksh 100B loans. First dual-title OCs issued in Priority Settlements. All 14 Sports Institutes under construction. KRC Phase 1 — Lateral Spine (Malaba-Eldoret-Isiolo, 425km) 50% complete. Isiolo Inland Depot civil works begin.
Year 3	Ksh 2,260B	Gender Equity Act enacted. LVT live. Bamboo boundary forests 20,000 ha. Mau contour bund programme 50,000 ha. KRC Phase 1 complete — Lateral Spine + Southern Spine rehabilitation commissioned. Isiolo Inland Depot operational. Phase 2 (LAPSSET + Tanzania crossings) commences. Rail Autonomy Year 3 report to National Assembly.
Year 4	Ksh 2,370B	CJH programme 3,000 complete and staffed. All 7 HPCs operational. KRCC access tracks 60% complete. EAC power interconnector negotiations concluded. KRC Phase 2 — NBO-Isiolo-Garissa corridor 40% complete. First Community Rail Trust dividend payments to corridor communities.
Year 5	Ksh 2,580B	LVT yielding Ksh 18B/year. EAC power export commencing. Carbon registry issuing first credits. All 47,000 schools upgraded. KRC Phase 2 — Lamu branch commissioned, Garissa freight depot operational. Tanzania crossings 1 and 2 complete. KRC freight revenue first returns — debt service coverage approaching 1.0x.
Year 6	Ksh 2,700B	All 8,000 CJHs complete. Kibera Phase 1 settlement upgrading complete. NHB mortgage book Ksh 200B. Geothermal tranches 1 and 2 commissioned — 2,160 MW. Lotikipi Phase 1 retention dams commissioned — Lotikipi Lakes created. Seven Forks Dual Mandate Protocol operative — first Tana downstream agricultural releases. Tiva chain dam Phase 1 complete.
Year 7	Ksh 2,900B	Industrial tariff USD 0.05/kWh achieved. HVDC Turkana-Nairobi commissioned. EAC power export 1,000 MW. All HPC bamboo and traditional materials lines operational. Mombasa coastal

Year	National Revenue	Headline Milestone
		desalination (300,000 m³/day) commissioned. Chlor-alkali plants at Mombasa and Malindi operational. KRC Phase 3 commences — Turkana NW Resource Line + Garissa-Mandera + Ethiopia crossing. KRC Manufacturing Wing producing first domestically assembled rolling stock.
Year 8	Ksh 3,100B	Thermal generation fully phased out. Kenya net power exporter to EAC — Ksh 156B/year. NHB employer levy self-sustaining. University Sports League TV rights generating revenue. KRC RAIL AUTONOMY THRESHOLD ACHIEVED — 80%+ of 4,572km network operational; all technical roles held by Kenyan Corps personnel; no foreign operational control; Manufacturing Wing producing full rolling stock range domestically; all IP permanently vested in the Corps. Six international rail crossings operational. EAC standard-gauge specification set by Kenya.
Year 9	Ksh 3,240B	Carbon economy USD 100M+/year. Women's registered land title 10% (from 1%). Maternal mortality 150 per 100,000 (from 342 baseline). Forest cover 10%. All 4,400 CHP posts filled and operational — the first national epidemiological surveillance dataset begins accumulating. Insurance scheme operational alongside functional Level 3 network.
Year 10 — THE TURNING POINT	Ksh 3,390B	Programme generates more additional annual revenue than it costs to sustain. Debt-to-GDP 55%. 10 counties financially independent. 130,000+ direct programme jobs generating Ksh 48B/year PAYE. KNAC Response Time Standard achieved in all county zones — monthly county rankings published and accountability is electoral. 16,000 Clan Health Wardens active nationally — 4 million nomadic Kenyans no longer structurally excluded from the health system.

9.2 Decade Two — Maturity and Legacy

The second decade is the harvest decade. The institutions built in the first decade sustain themselves. The revenues compound. The generation that completed Form 4 in Year One of the programme reaches its mid-thirties in Year Twenty — the most productive decade of a working life — with educational qualifications, formal employment records, social protection entitlements, and land titles that its parents'

generation largely lacked. The programme's deepest investment — in human capital, in institutional quality, in ecological assets, in the social fabric of asabiyyah — begins to return in ways that no budget table can fully capture.

Year Range	What the Country Looks Like
Years 10–12: The Consolidation	Nairobi informal settlement proportion reaches 40% (from 60%). Secondary city upgrading programmes underway. Kenya crosses 50% urbanisation — housing system operational at scale before the inflection point. Every ward in every Kenyan city above 100,000 population has an operational Ward Maintenance Unit on the 72-hour standard. Dandora dumpsite closed. Nairobi's rivers are linear parks. Kisumu lakefront open. Mombasa Old Town pedestrianised with working sewers — Fort Jesus waterfront restored. The EAC Swahili Academy publishing and active. Bamboo boundary forests 150,000 hectares. Maternal mortality 100 per 100,000. The CHP programme's epidemiological dataset is now a decade old: the system sees disease coming before it arrives. The KECA has approved ten years of energy contracts on sovereign terms — not one foreign arbitration clause, not one operational control provision, every tariff published within 48 hours.
Years 12–15: Financial Maturity	Carbon economy one of Kenya's top five foreign exchange earners. Women's land title 25%. Maternal mortality 80 per 100,000. Kenya's credit rating investment grade solid. The Continental Infrastructure Bond rated and actively used by AU Connectivity Compact members. Ten counties have accessed DFI-direct finance for county capital programmes — the county financial independence trajectory is established. The first generation of women who grew up with dual-titled land and ECD-facilitated employment participation reaches their peak earning years.
Years 15–17: Programme Normalisation	The programme no longer requires intensive programme management — its mechanisms have become the normal functioning of Kenyan institutions. The Judiciary Fund, the ICT Fund, the GECC system, the NIAS, the National Carbon Registry — these are permanent features of the Kenyan state that will outlast any particular government's term. The first review of the national programme is conducted: which targets were met, which fell short, what was learned, and what the next twenty-year programme should address. This review is conducted publicly, with citizen participation through CRCs and the eCitizen platform.
Years 17–20: Legacy	Women's registered land title 40%. Maternal mortality 50 per 100,000. Gender pay gap below 8%. Nairobi informal settlement proportion 20%. Forest cover 15%. Bamboo

Year Range	What the Country Looks Like
	boundary forests at full 200,000 hectare extent. Carbon economy generating USD 300–480 million per year — a permanent income stream flowing primarily to the communities managing the ecosystems. Debt-to-GDP 42% and declining. The EAC is functionally an economic union. The AU Connectivity Compact has demonstrated that African connectivity is achievable at continental scale. Kenya did not do this alone. Kenya did it first, and shared how.

SECTION TEN

The Programme Index — Reading the Library

10.1 How to Use the Programme Documents

Each of the twenty-six sector vision documents is the authoritative reference for its sector's design. Mpango wa Taifa does not override any of them. Where a question arises about how a specific institution works, what a specific programme delivers, or what the legal architecture for a specific sector is, the answer is in the relevant sector document. This synthesis reads them together — it does not replace them.

The cross-programme obligations — the Amendment Reference Codes from Jinsia ya Taifa, the cross-programme amendment tables in Mazingira ya Taifa and Kazi ya Taifa and Fedha ya Taifa — are enforceable in their source documents. A sector directorate that wants to know what the Gender Equity Compliance Certificate requires of it consults Jinsia ya Taifa and the Amendment Schedule. A county government that wants to know what its housing obligations are consults Nyumba ya Taifa. A DFI that wants to know what the programme's financial architecture is consults Fedha ya Taifa. This synthesis tells them that all of these documents exist and that they are connected — but the connection is only fully readable in the source documents themselves.

10.2 The Programme Documents — Annotated Index

Document	What It Answers
Maji ni Uhai — Water	Kenya is not water-scarce. It is water-architecture-

Document	What It Answers
Vision	scarce. The Kenya Water Construction and Maintenance Corps (five operational battalions plus a permanent Maintenance Corps and a Hydrological Intelligence Unit) builds the architecture; Community Water Trusts own it permanently; Community Engineers maintain it locally. Nine regional programmes cover every hydrological zone: the Northern Desert Corridor (volcanic island hydrology, A2 cascade pipeline, nomad wind-wheel cistern network); Turkana (Lotikipi Channel — Kenya creating a new river where none existed — Lodwar Lake Turkana treatment plant, Turkwel valley agricultural corridor, the SMR long horizon); the Eastern Heartland (Seven Forks Dual Mandate Protocol, Yatta Plateau contour canal, Tiva River chain dams, sand dam replication at scale, Upper Athi constructed wetland treatment); the Coast (Shimba and Taita Hills contour systems, Tana-Galana Flood Pulse Protocol and water banking — Ksh 4–25B/year returns — six coastal desalination centres, chlor-alkali industrial co-location); Western and Lake Victoria (Nzoia, Yala, Nyando, Mara basin programmes, Nandi and Mau escarpment contours); Rift Valley floor (governance instruments — Naivasha abstraction cap, Baringo catchment reforestation, Nakuru-Njoro protection); Central Highlands and Nairobi (Aberdare eastern face contour system, catchment-sensitive urban planning, Nairobi wastewater treatment protecting the entire Athi-Galana-Coast system). Financed through a 2% national revenue statutory appropriation, Water Infrastructure Bonds backed by tariff revenue, and a Community Trust Capitalisation revolving fund.
KRC Act, Financing Architecture, Land Framework, Vision Statement, Construction Programme Atlas — Kenya Railway Corps	What institution builds Kenya's rail network, on what terms, how, and in what sequence? The Vision Statement: Rail Autonomy Through Youth Sovereignty. The Corps Act: the complete legal architecture including the political lock (Phase 1 gets freight running before any mid-term election, making the programme politically irreversible), the Rail Autonomy Threshold (80% operational, all roles domestic, no foreign operational control achieved in 8 years), the knowledge transfer obligation, the 1% GDP protected appropriation, the Community Land Framework (Development Premium 30%+, Community Rail Stake as equity, Pastoralist Corridor Protocol). The Financing Architecture: $12.6B, blended 3.8%, debt serviced from freight revenue by Year 6, full retirement Year 20, Isiolo Inland Depot as highest-return ancillary investment, Lamu Port

Document	What It Answers
	Readiness Condition. The Construction Programme Atlas: Phase 1 (Years 1–3, 1,105km) — Southern Spine rehabilitation as training exercise before greenfield, Lateral Spine as Phase 1 flagship, Isiolo Dry Port commissioned before the corridors it serves are complete; Phase 2 (Years 3–6, 1,346km) — NBO-Garissa-Lamu connecting the northeast for the first time, Tanzania crossings ×3; Phase 3 (Years 6–8, 1,727km) — the hard corridors (Turkana NW, Garissa-Mandera, Ethiopia) that no private investor would build, delivered by the Corps in its sixth year when it has the institutional experience. 240,000 Corps members at peak construction. Namanga Battalion with Maasai recruits as community co-owners. Motto: Ombi. Ujuzi. Uhuru.
Kenya National Settlement Vision + Kenya National Urban Settlement — Settlement Maintenance Corps	What does Kenya do about the infrastructure the cities already have — or should have had? The Surgical City doctrine: the city Nairobi already is plus the infrastructure it was always supposed to have — working with it, not against it. Six sectors: Public Transport (matatu cyclic model, BRT with physical kerbed enforcement that is self-enforcing — no traffic officer needed, metro corridor preservation for the 20-30 year underground programme); Waste and Circular Economy (85% of Nairobi's waste is a resource, Jua Kali Recycling Hubs replacing Dandora dumpsite, organic processing producing biogas and compost); Sewerage (four TBM-bored primary trunks under live streets, city above doesn't stop); Streets and Rivers (complete street standard, retention pond cascade — storm management and public amenity from the same infrastructure, linear river parks replacing open sewers); Facilities (400m/800m/1.5km walking distance standards); Settlement Maintenance Corps (Ward Maintenance Units in every ward, 72-hour response standard published monthly, 40,000–60,000 permanent corps members nationally). City-specific programmes: Mombasa Old Town vacuum sewerage and pedestrianisation (Fort Jesus waterfront restored — 'the economics follow'); Kisumu lakefront 8km linear park and Lake Victoria ferry network ('Kisumu is poisoning the lake that feeds it'); Nakuru sewerage protecting Lake Nakuru flamingo habitat ('clean sewers = clean lake = flamingoes = revenue'); Eldoret prevention not remediation ('the window is still partially open'). Applied to all 47 county towns under the Kenya Settlement Code.
Energy Sector Sovereign Protection	How does Kenya prevent the energy extraction architecture from reproducing itself in every future

Document	What It Answers
Act	energy contract? The doctrine: substrate removal. We do not renegotiate. We change the ground the contracts land on. Three substrates removed: information asymmetry (KECA technical capacity to outgun any private developer at the negotiating table), institutional weakness (parliamentary-confirmed DG, protected budget), legal terrain (Kenya Energy Tribunal exclusive jurisdiction — no London arbitration, no ICSID). Seven mandatory sovereign terms in every future energy contract: Kenyan governing law; exclusive Tribunal jurisdiction; automatic asset reversion at end of contract at zero cost; capacity payment cap; change order restrictions (10% approval threshold, 20% cumulative cap); currency risk sharing (50% maximum to state); full tariff transparency within 48 hours. Prospective operation — existing contracts not touched. The Kenya Energy Contracts Authority (KECA): sole negotiating body for all energy contracts above Ksh 500M or 5 years; Director-General confirmed by two-thirds Parliament, 6-year term, market-rate compensation, 5-year cooling-off before joining energy industry; protected appropriation. Kenya Energy Tribunal: specialist institution, High Court President, technical and legal members. 10-year imprisonment for state officers executing contracts without KECA approval. Technology transfer: 70% Kenyan nationals in operational roles within 5 years.
Ujenzi na Miundombinu ya Taifa — Infrastructure Delivery	How is the entire national infrastructure pipeline managed? The NIDCU dependency calendar, the 31-row consolidated pipeline, the KSBC and KRCC standard design libraries, the Delivery Through Connection doctrine, the Delivery Certificate system.
Shamba la Taifa — Agriculture	How does Kenya feed itself and generate agricultural exports? The Agricultural Development Bank of Kenya, the cooperative hub network, the extension service, the irrigation infrastructure, the agro-processing zones.
Viwanda ya Taifa — Industry and Manufacturing	How does Kenya industrialise? The Dongo Kundu SEZ and the Kenya Integrated Steel Corporation, the agro-processing zone network, the domestic content requirements, the Rivatex revitalisation.
Madini ya Taifa — Minerals and Mining	What does Kenya do with its mineral wealth? The KNAGS geological survey, the Mrima Hill rare earths development, the royalty reform, the beneficiation mandates, the mine town housing obligations, the no-coal decision.
Utalii wa Taifa —	How does Kenya grow its tourism economy? The KTB

Document	What It Answers
Tourism	reform, the heritage tourism circuits, the coastal and marine product, the community conservancy model, the 'cultivated for exploration' philosophy applied to national parks.
Shule ya Taifa — Primary Education	What do Kenya's schools deliver? The competency-based curriculum, the school infrastructure standard, the teacher workforce programme, the ECD at every primary school, the school feeding programme.
Elimu ya Kina — Secondary Education	How does secondary school connect to work? The KNQF integration, the technical tracks, the career guidance reform, the school sports programme, the Form 2 heritage visit, the girls' retention programme.
Chuo Kuu ya Taifa — Tertiary Education	How does university connect to development? The KNQF free-at-point-of-access funding, the university agricultural enterprises, the research framework, the maternity protection, the SACCO Integration Fund.
Schools Infrastructure and Workforce Programme	What does a national-standard school look like and who builds it? The construction standard, the ECD centre specification, the menstrual hygiene infrastructure, the teacher recruitment pipeline.
Kenya Health Vision + KNAC Corps Act + Health Insurance Brief — Afya ya Taifa	What is actually broken and how does Kenya fix it? The six failure points: (1) structural collapse — devolution severed the referral hierarchy without replacing it; (2) numbers and distribution — doctors in Nairobi only, deployment weaponised as political tool; (3) facility appropriateness — equipment concentrated in county capitals, patients die on the journey to Nairobi; (4) insurance predation — structural consequence of a broken market, not just insurer ethics; (5) no ambulance network — the connective tissue that makes every other investment real is absent; (6) the nomadic gap — 4 million Kenyans entirely outside every fixed-infrastructure health model. The answer: rebuild the five-level hierarchy (L1 Dispensary → L2 Health Centre → L3 Sub-County Hospital, the system anchor, 290 sites, 2 theatres each → L4 County Referral → L5 National); connect it with the Kenya National Ambulance Corps (2,650 fleet including 40 night-capable helicopters, 25,000 staff, statutory Response Time Standard urban/peri-urban/remote 20/45/60 minutes — a statutory obligation enforced against counties, not a target); reach every household with Community Health Paramedics (4,400 permanently employed, mother-tongue, motorcycle + device, daily round + emergency first response + real-time epidemiological surveillance);

Document	What It Answers
	follow the nomadic population with Clan Health Wardens (16,000, clan-selected, satellite-linked, 1 per 250 nomadic persons) and 80 mobile dispensary units on fortnightly circuits to seasonal water points. The insurance brief: the ambulance network and Level 3 upgrade are the preconditions for a properly-designed insurance scheme — defined costs at every level, predictable referral routing, population health data from 4,400 CHPs, the nomadic population finally defined and actuarially modelable. Sequencing: build KNAC first; upgrade Level 3 and launch insurance together. Motto: Tiba Mapema. Usalama Daima. — Early Treatment. Safety Always. Doctrine: the system that saves your life must not be the system that ruins it.
Nyumba ya Taifa — Housing	How does Kenya house a rapidly urbanising population? The National Housing Bank, the Urban Land Bank, the tenure spectrum, the three housing finance pathways, the Rent Tribunal, the settlement upgrading doctrine, the programme-driven town framework, the traditional materials programme.
Utamaduni wa Taifa — Culture, Sports and Heritage	What is Kenya's cultural infrastructure? The 690 CRCs, the 14 Sports Institutes, the professional leagues governance, the KATS touring scheme, the Kenya Film Fund, the National Gallery, the Swahili Academy, the 42-community documentation programme.
Jinsia ya Taifa + Amendment Schedule — Gender Equity	How does Kenya make gender equity structural rather than aspirational? The Gender Equity Act (7 Parts), the Gender Equity Tribunal, the GECC system, the dual-title mandate, the ADBK Women's Window, the 38 Amendment Reference Codes across 10 programme documents.
Kazi ya Taifa — Labour and Social Protection	How does Kenya connect 800,000 young people per year to productive work? The National Interest and Aptitude System, the 14 national corps pathways, the minimum wage architecture, the NSSF reform, the unemployment insurance, the formalisation programme.
Nishati ya Taifa — Energy	How does Kenya power its development? The geothermal expansion to 4,660 MW, the solar infrastructure mandate, the HVDC line, the rural electrification programme, the EAC power pool, the industrial tariff reform, the no-coal decision.
Ulinzi na Usalama ya Taifa — Defence and Interior	What is Kenya's security architecture? The KMEC corporate structure, the NPS digital reform, the KIACC asset recovery powers, the Prison rehabilitation model,

Document	What It Answers
	the National Fire Service, the NYS Corporation, the National Ambulance Corps integration.
Haki ya Taifa — Justice	How does Kenya make justice accessible? The 8,000 CJHs, the five specialist court divisions, the universal legal aid mandate, the Judiciary Fund at 2% of national revenue, the court archive programme, the KSBC standard courthouse designs.
Teknolojia ya Taifa — ICT and Digital Infrastructure	How does Kenya build its digital backbone? The National Fibre Backbone (three-tier), Wingu la Taifa (three primary nodes), eCitizen, Kitambulisho cha Dijitali, the Kenya Digital Service, the EABU Remote Production Hub.
Mazingira ya Taifa — Environment and Climate	How does Kenya protect and leverage its natural capital? The bamboo boundary forests, the water tower restoration (contour-first), the coastal cultivated-for-exploration philosophy, the invasive species utilitarian model, the KCDS, the National Carbon Registry.
Fedha ya Taifa — Finance and Treasury	How does Kenya pay for all of this? The revenue mobilisation programme (surgical tax reform — VAT compliance the highest-return reform, LVT replacing stamp duty, BEPS corporate enforcement, formalisation PAYE engine); the Four Debt Rules (no commercial above 6%, tenor matching, currency matching, 25% debt service ceiling); the debt trajectory (70%→72%→68%→62%→55%→48%→42%); the per-project DFI matrix for every sector investment with specific instruments and rationale; NDFICO — 30 professionals managing all DFI relationships as a single portfolio, 50-project pipeline (10 active, 20 advanced, 20 early); the Master Fiscal Table across four phases; the contingency rule (defer environment/culture first, protect education/health last); the county finance architecture (four-component equitable share formula, 15% performance grant, county own-source revenue streams, County Development Fund through ADBK, DFI-direct access from Year 8); NHB (Ksh 145B initial cap including Ksh 65B diaspora bond at 6.5–7%, available on eCitizen portal, minimum USD 500; employer levy 1%; SACCO wholesale at 5.5%); ADBK (Ksh 200–250B initial cap; mandatory crop insurance co-product; cooperative collective collateral solving the smallholder credit problem); ULB (Ksh 20B initial cap, 99-year ground leases, Ksh 3–8B/year by Year 10); capital markets (Domestic Infrastructure Bond, Green Bond Framework, SACCO Integration Fund); twelve fiscal risks with

Document	What It Answers
	probability, impact, and mitigation for each. NOTE: Investment totals revised to Ksh 6.5 trillion / Ksh 3.85 trillion public (central estimate) from earlier pre-KRC Atlas figures; employment PAYE revised to Ksh 80–115B/year at Year 8.
Diplomasia ya Taifa — Foreign Affairs and Trade	How does Kenya engage the world? The EAC Transport and Connectivity Union, the AU Connectivity Compact (five pillars), the Continental Infrastructure Bond, the Diaspora Framework, the development finance negotiating posture, the trade architecture.
African Governance Cycle — Continental Governance Architecture	What does African governance at the continental scale look like? The sortition assemblies, the Governance Fitness Index, the Algorithmic Clock, the AI Auditor architecture, the continental sequencing plan. (Published independently at archive.org — graded A minus.)

MPANGO WA TAIFA

The National Plan — Twenty-Six Visions, One Programme

This document is the synthesis of the Kenya National Development Programme. The twenty-six sector vision documents that it synthesises are the authoritative technical references for each sector's design. Together they constitute not a collection of government plans but a single coherent act of national will.

The programme is ambitious because Kenya's circumstances demand ambition. A country with a median age of 20, with 800,000 new labour market entrants per year, with the geothermal and solar and carbon natural capital that Kenya has, with the EAC position that Kenya occupies — that country cannot afford incremental improvement. It can afford, and it requires, transformation.

The test, twenty years from now, is not whether every target in every document was achieved. Some will fall short. Some will be exceeded. The test is whether the institutional architecture was built — whether the Community Justice Halls exist and are staffed, whether the dual-title instruments changed who holds land, whether the bamboo forests are growing around the parks, whether the young person from Turkana has a genuine pathway to a life that was not available to their parents. If those things are true, the programme succeeded.

We are doing this so that you follow and do it as well. That is the ambition. It begins here.